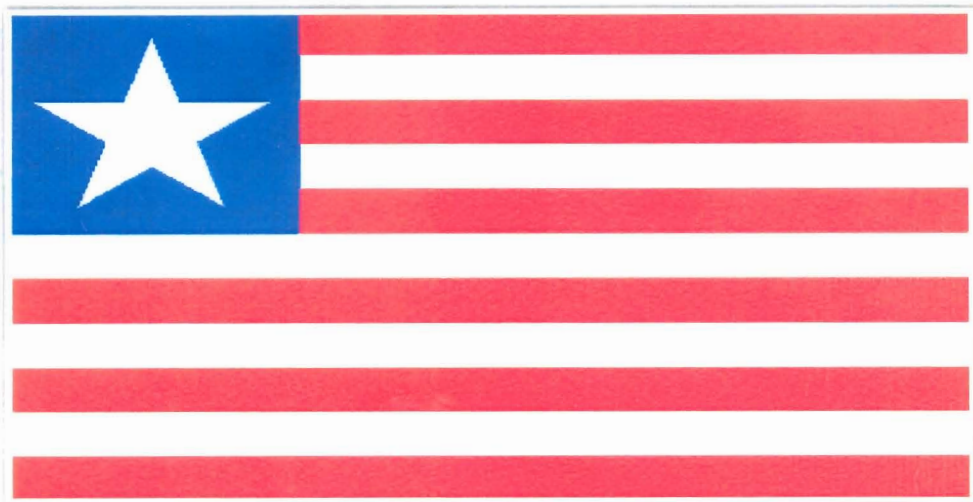


LIBERIA: FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT
PROJECT REPORT



prepared by

Urban Morgan Institute for Human Rights
University of Cincinnati College of Law

for

Catholic Justice and Peace Commission and
Robert F. Kennedy Center for Justice & Human Rights

Documents provided by the *National Security Archive*

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ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED

THE CATHOLIC JUSTICE AND PEACE COMMISSION

The Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (JPC) of Liberia was established in November 1991 in response to a century-long history of widespread human rights abuses and injustices accentuated by a brutal civil war that began in 1989. It was founded by the Catholic Archbishop of the Archdiocese of Monrovia, the Most Reverend Michael Kpakala Francis, one of Liberia's most renowned human rights defenders and a leading voice for social justice. Archbishop Francis founded the JPC in an effort to address the widespread human rights abuses and injustices in his country.

In 1999, Archbishop Francis received the Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award for his work and his vision for Liberia. The JPC is a Liberian national organization that postulates the Christian principles of love, justice, and freedom and addresses itself to issues regarding social, economic, political, and religious justice as well as respect for human rights. The organization offers information, education, research, and legal aid and promotes the Archbishop's social justice goals of promoting sustainable peace and a vibrant civil society.

Unfortunately, Archbishop Francis was afflicted by a stroke in early 2004. In February 2005, Monsignor Andrew Karnley was appointed the Apostolic Administrator of the Archdiocese of Monrovia by the Vatican, and he is carrying on the social justice goals identified by Archbishop Francis.

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ROBERT F. KENNEDY MEMORIAL CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Founded in 1968, the Robert F. Kennedy Center for Justice & Human Rights (RFK Center) works to realize Robert F. Kennedy's vision of social justice. In 1984, in order to better reflect the global nature of RFK's work, the RFK Center established the Human Rights Award, and provides support to the award laureates. The RFK Center has recognized the courage and sacrifice of thirty-seven community activists, political prisoners, environmentalists, union organizers, and human rights defenders in twenty-two countries.

By forging long-term partnerships with its RFK laureates, the RFK Center ensures that its work concretely contributes to important social movements and impacts the global human rights movement. RFK Center combines innovative human rights tools and advocacy campaigns with a rights-based approach driven by grassroots partners around the world. The RFK Center engages a Global Advocacy Team of pro-bono experts, professional human rights staff, the Kennedy family, and their networks to advocate for the change its partner activists seek; these include changing policies and actions of governments, intergovernmental organizations, international financial institutions (IFIs), and corporations.

Archbishop Michael Kpakala Francis was awarded the RFK Human Rights Award in 1999. Since that time the RFK Center has been working with the Archdiocese of Monrovia on human rights projects in Liberia, specifically with the JPC and Radio Veritas, to achieve the Archbishop's social justice goals. To that end, the RFK Center and JPC have partnered on numerous advocacy and human rights projects including this Freedom of Information Act request.

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NATIONAL SECURITY ARCHIVE

An independent nongovernmental research institute and library located at The George Washington University, the National Security Archive collects and publishes declassified documents obtained through the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). The Archive also serves as a repository of government records on a wide range of topics pertaining to the national security, foreign, intelligence, and economic policies of the United States. The Archive won the 1999 George Polk Award, one of US journalism's most prestigious prizes, for--in the words of the citation--"piercing the self-serving veils of government secrecy, guiding journalists in the search for the truth and informing us all."

The Archive obtains its materials through a variety of methods, including the Freedom of Information Act, Mandatory Declassification Review, presidential paper collections, congressional records, and court testimony. As a part of its mission to broaden access to the historical record, the Archive is also a leading advocate and user of the FOIA. Precedent-setting Archive lawsuits have brought into the public domain new materials on the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Iran-Contra Affair and other issues that have changed the way scholars interpret those events. The Archive spearheaded the groundbreaking legal effort to preserve millions of pages of White House e-mail records that were created during the Reagan, Bush, and Clinton administrations.

The Archive's mission of guaranteeing the public's right to know extends to other countries outside the United States. The organization is currently involved in efforts to sponsor freedom of information legislation in the nations of Central Europe, Central America, and elsewhere, and is committed to finding ways to provide technical and other services that will allow archives and libraries overseas to introduce appropriate records management systems into their respective institutions.

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URBAN MORGAN INSTITUTE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

For over twenty-five years, the Urban Morgan Institute for Human Rights (UMI) has educated and trained human rights lawyers, promoting and protecting human rights in the international arena. Established in 1979, the UMI serves as a model for many human rights programs.

The UMI emphasizes three areas: teaching, research, and service. Students have the opportunity to participate in externships that take them around the world with human rights groups fighting injustice. Some examples are serving as election observers in South Africa and working to strengthen women's rights in foreign countries.

At the core of the UMI's success is the *Human Rights Quarterly*, published by The Johns Hopkins Press and recognized as the leading academic journal in the human rights field. The *Quarterly* covers the range of human rights matters encompassed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Professor Bert B. Lockwood, Distinguished Service Professor, Director of UMI, and Editor-in-Chief of the *Quarterly*, is a graduate of St. Lawrence University (B.A.), Syracuse University College of Law (J.D.), and the University of Virginia Law School (LL.M. with a specialization in International Law). He was Assistant Director and Senior Fellow of the NYU Center of International Studies, Program Director of the World Peace Through Law Center, and Associate Dean of the Washington College of Law at American University. In 1978, he co-founded the International Human Rights Law Group in Washington, DC and has served in various advisory capabilities since.

Professor Lockwood has served as the Director of UMI since 1979 and is in his twenty-seventh year as Editor-in-Chief of the *Quarterly*. In 1988, he became Series Editor of the Pennsylvania Series in Human Rights, a human rights book series which has published over fifty volumes, many of which were award winners. Professor Lockwood is an International Advocacy Team Member for the RFK Center.

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THE CONFLICT IN LIBERIA¹

Liberia was founded in 1822 as a Pan-African movement of the American Colonization Society to repatriate freed slaves to West Africa. Founded in 1847, the colony became The Free and Independent Republic of Liberia,² making it the oldest republic of Africa. An oligarchy of former American slaves, known as “Americo-Liberians,” took control of Liberia, even though they constituted only 5 percent of the population.³ Despite being founded with the altruistic motives of repatriating former slaves to the continent of Africa and spreading Christianity, the small Americo-Liberian minority came to control and exploit the indigenous population.⁴ Liberia’s constitution even denied equal rights to the indigenous population of Liberia.⁵ For nearly 100 years the Americo-Liberians controlled the country, and the repression of the indigenous population was considerable, eliciting a reprimand by the League of Nations in 1931.⁶

In 1944, President William Tubman began a series of political reforms to allow greater participation of the indigenous population in the government. Women and indigenous property owners were given the right to vote in the presidential election in 1951.⁷ In 1964, suffrage was granted to the entire indigenous population, and the government gave out scholarships to allow increased access to secondary education.⁸ Tubman remained in office until his death in 1971,⁹ and after his death, William Tolbert became president of Liberia. President Tolbert’s tenure, however, was marred by a collapse in the global commodities markets, which affected the main exports of Liberia – iron, ore and rubber. (Firestone has had a rubber plantation in Liberia since 1926)

In 1979 riots broke out in the capitol city of Monrovia. A combination of low wages on exports and increased rice prices, the staple of the Liberian diet, triggered mass demonstrations that became violent. Many soldiers in the Liberian military refused to fire on civilians, leading the government to bring hundreds of soldiers from Guinea to quell the uprisings.¹⁰

On April 12, 1980, Master Sergeant Samuel Doe seized power by storming the Executive Mansion with the help of twenty-eight non-commissioned officers in the Liberian military, killing all twenty-six people inside.¹¹ The coup was completed ten days later when the thirteen most senior officials of the Americo-Liberian oligarchy, who had survived the coup, were executed on national television.¹²

Although Head of State Doe promised sweeping reforms, he proved to be as much a strongman as

¹ We would like to thank University of Cincinnati College of Law students Brad Thomas, Bonnie Gadd, and Claire Bushorn for contributing to this section of the report.

² Infoplease.com, Liberia: History, Geography, Government, and Culture, *available at* <http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0107718.html>.

³ ADEKEYE ADEBAJO, LIBERIA’S CIVIL WAR: NIGERIA, ECOMOG, AND REGIONAL SECURITY IN WEST AFRICA 21 (2002).

⁴ JOHN-PETER PHAM, LIBERIA: PORTRAIT OF A FAILED STATE 7 (2004).

⁵ Liberia, *supra* note 2.

⁶ PHAM, *supra* note 4, at 21.

⁷ Timeline: Liberia, *available at* http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/country_profiles/1043567.stm.

⁸ PHAM, *supra* note 4, at 22.

⁹ Timeline: Liberia, *supra* note 7.

¹⁰ PHAM, *supra* note 4, at 76.

¹¹ ADEBAJO, *supra* note 3, at 25.

¹² *Id.* at 26.

President Tolbert. Head of State Doe promoted his own ethno-linguistic group, the Krahn, to the most important government positions, a practice similar to the Americo-Liberian government. Although the Krahn only comprised 5 percent of Liberia's population,¹³ Head of State Doe's government gave them 33 percent of all government jobs, two thirds of the senior positions, and complete control of all senior military commands.¹⁴ Human rights abuses were rampant under the Doe regime, and he used his office and the military to brutally stifle any dissent.¹⁵

In an effort to lend legitimacy to his regime, Head of State Doe organized an election in 1985, but these elections were "as unfree as they were unfair."¹⁶ Before the ballots could be counted, Head of State Doe ordered all the votes be returned to the capital for tabulation. Although the election was blatantly rigged, Samuel Doe won with only 50.9% of the votes and the United States government declared the results legitimate.¹⁷ In reaction to the results, Thomas Quiwonkpa, Commanding General of the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) and Senior Council Member of the ruling People's Redemption Council (PRC) attempted to launch a coup against Head of State Doe. General Quiwonkpa was considered to have the full support of his army. However, the United States Embassy tipped Head of State Doe off, and the coup was brutally quashed.¹⁸ Eventually, Doe reserved all important government positions to the Krahn tribe and developed a cooperative relationship with the Mandingo tribesmen. In contrast, Head of State Doe considered the Gio and Mano ethnic clans to be threats to his power and carried out a policy of discrimination and repression towards the two groups. As a result of this patronage system, Head of State Doe initiated the use of ethnicity as an integral part in Liberian politics, ultimately beginning an era of ethnic hostility between indigenous Liberians.¹⁹

The turmoil reached its climax on December 24, 1989 when Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) initiated an uprising against the Doe government with the help of Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso, and Libya.²⁰ The Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL), a splinter group of NPFL led by Prince Johnson,²¹ assassinated Head of State Doe, beginning a seven-year war that would claim a quarter million lives.²² As a result of the fallen Doe regime, multiple factions came into existence in an effort to gain governmental control.²³

The neighboring countries, all members of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), had direct interest in the conflict, as the Liberian civil war could cause a ripple effect in

¹³ STEPHEN ELLIS, *THE MASK OF ANARCHY: THE DESTRUCTION OF LIBERIA AND THE RELIGIOUS DIMENSION OF AN AFRICAN CIVIL WAR* 31 (1999).

¹⁴ PHAM, *supra* note 4, at 83.

¹⁵ *Id.*

¹⁶ ADEBAJO, *supra* note 3, at 2.

¹⁷ ELLIS, *supra* note 13, at 59.

¹⁸ *Id.*

¹⁹ Luca Renda, *Ending Civil Wars, The Case of Liberia*, 23 FLETCHER F. WORLD AFF. 59, 64 (1999).

²⁰ PHAM, *supra* note 4, at 98.

²¹ Prince Johnson is currently a member of the Liberian Senate.

²² ARTHUR KULAH, *LIBERIA WILL RISE AGAIN* 11 (1999).

²³ Warring factions include: National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), established by Thomas Quiwonkpa and later led by Charles Taylor; Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL), led by Prince Yormie Johnson; Lofa Defense Force (LDF), one faction was allied with NPFL while another was led by Francois Massaquoi; Liberia Peace Council (LPC), led by George Boley; Liberian United Defense Force (LUDF), formed by General Albert Karpheh and later merged with ULIMO; and United Liberation Movement for democracy in Liberia (ULIMO), originally led by General Albert Karpheh then split into two factions: ULIMO-K (under Alhaji Kromah) and ULIMO-J (under Roosevelt Johnson).

West Africa's stability.²⁴ Under Nigerian and Ghanaian leadership, the military arm of ECOWAS, known as the ECOWAS Monitoring Group or ECOMOG, deployed a force to intervene in the conflict. The force began initially as half Nigerian and half Ghanaian, but as the seven year deployment continued, Nigeria ultimately contributed 75 percent of the troops to ECOMOG and 90 percent of the funding.²⁵ Nigeria had a national interest in combating Charles Taylor; Nigeria feared that Liberia would become a refuge for anti-Nigerian forces if Charles Taylor were to come into power, due to Taylor's support from Nigeria's rival, Ivory Coast.²⁶ The Organization of African Unity (OAU) called for greater representation of other countries in the ECOMOG force, but these calls fell upon deaf ears.²⁷

Looting among all rebel factions was rampant during the conflict, and the multiple factions supported their campaigns by looting wherever they went. To further complicate the situation, ECOMOG took part in the sacking of Monrovia.²⁸ By the end of the conflict many Liberians stated that "ECOMOG" really stood for "every car or movable object gone."²⁹ In addition, ECOMOG seized a substantial portion of UN humanitarian aid entering the country and used it to supply their troops.³⁰ After seven years of fighting, the country was reduced to rubble and hundreds of thousands of lives were lost.

The parties were eventually brought to the negotiating table in the mid-1990s. By 1996, the Abuja II Accords brought a temporary end to the hostilities,³¹ as an agreement revised from a 1995 version extended the timetable for implementation of the disarmament by nine months and threatened international sanctions against any leader who violated the agreement.³² Even though the direct fighting stopped, many of the warlords refused to disarm, leaving huge caches of small arms not under government control around the country.³³

In 1997, Charles Taylor was elected President, and his newly formed National Patriotic Party (NPP) won a majority in the National Assembly.³⁴ International observers declared the election to be free and fair,³⁵ including the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia and ECOWAS.³⁶ It is believed, however, that he won due to the widespread belief that if not elected, he would begin a new war. The slogan spontaneously created by mainly youthful fighters, "He killed my ma, he killed my pa, but I will vote for him,"³⁷ exemplifies the likelihood of coercion.

Taylor's tyrannical and dysfunctional government eventually led to a new rebellion in 1999, initiating a second civil war involving various militant factions around the country fighting for access to Liberia's

²⁴ ADEBAJO, *supra* note 3, at 4.

²⁵ *Id.* at 52.

²⁶ "Every Car or Moving Object Gone," The ECOMOG Intervention in Liberia, *available at* <http://www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v4/v4i1a1.htm#EndNote14>.

²⁷ ADEBAJO, *supra* note 3, at 65.

²⁸ *Id.* at 80.

²⁹ PHAM, *supra* note 4, at 137.

³⁰ ADEBAJO, *supra* note 3, at 212.

³¹ *Id.* at 196; Chronology, THE LIBERIAN POST, *available at* <http://liberian.tripod.com/Post22.html>.

³² Liberia's Path from Anarchy to Elections, *available at* http://www.brookings.edu/articles/1998/05africa_lyons.aspx.

³³ ADEBAJO, *supra* note 3, at 208.

³⁴ Timeline: Liberia, *supra* note 7.

³⁵ *Id.*

³⁶ Liberia's Path from Anarchy to Elections, *supra* note 32.

³⁷ War in Liberia, *available at* <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2003/aug/04/westafrica.qanda>.

resources, including timber, iron ore, rubber, gold and diamonds. President Taylor was able to use ethnic divisions as a means to achieve absolute power, while his ultimate goal was to obtain economic and political control. Ethnic tensions played a key role in the war and were used mainly as a tool aimed at rousing lower and middle level fighters to action.³⁸ Before and during his reign as president, Charles Taylor used Liberia's resources as a means of obtaining and retaining power. For instance, in 1992, five years before his presidency, Charles Taylor signed a "Memorandum of Understanding"³⁹ with management at the Firestone Plantation,⁴⁰ in which Firestone paid National Patriotic Front of Liberia \$2 million annually in exchange for protection.⁴¹ In addition, he smuggled conflict diamonds, before their trade was reduced due to international sanctions, after which timber became the primary resource to control.⁴² In 2000, Global Witness estimated that timber trade was worth at least \$100 million annually,⁴³ but only \$7 million went to government coffers, while civil servants remained unpaid and the only university in Liberia remained closed for lack of funds.⁴⁴ Most money was used by Taylor to support the patronage system, to fund arms purchases and to terrorize the population.⁴⁵ To accomplish this, he would first agree with foreign business people to grant licenses to extract and export resources in return for tax payments in American dollars.⁴⁶ Taylor would then use the money from the business deals to purchase arms in the underground market, importing them through Ivory Coast.⁴⁷

Charles Taylor was able to retain power, at least in part, through his relationship with Sierra Leonean revolutionary Foday Sankoh. Taylor and Sankoh had met while in Libya in the 1980s in order to gain Libya's support.⁴⁸ As a result of this relationship, Charles Taylor helped fund the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) in Sierra Leone's brutal civil war, led by Sankoh, by trading arms and conflict diamonds.⁴⁹

As a result of President Taylor's misrule, former adversaries resumed armed rebellion. Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD), backed by the Guinean government, emerged in northern Liberia while Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) emerged in the south. Both rebel groups were fighting for renewed control over resources and power, as they occupied areas rich in resources. Due to intense US and international pressure, Charles Taylor resigned as President of Liberia in 2003 and took asylum in Nigeria,⁵⁰ while the United Nations (UN) stepped in to mediate peace agreements. In July 2003, the Government of Liberia, LURD, and MODEL signed a ceasefire following talks arranged by the ECOWAS, the OAU, and the UN.⁵¹ In the same year, the Catholic

³⁸ Renda, *supra* note 19, at 65.

³⁹ DOS-469: Issued January 28, 1992; To: Washington, DC; From: Conakry Embassy; Subject: El Haji Kromah Expresses Disappointment on Slow Progress of Yama IV; Cable # 00512.

⁴⁰ The Firestone Plantation has been in operation in Liberia since 1926.

⁴¹ DOS-469, *supra* note 39.

⁴² MICHAEL RENNER, *THE ANATOMY OF RESOURCE WARS* 24 (2002).

⁴³ Global Witness, *Taylor-made: The Pivotal Role of Liberia's Forests and Flag of Convenience in Regional Conflict* (2001) available at http://www.globalwitness.org/media_library_detail.php/97/en/taylor_made.

⁴⁴ RENNER, *supra* note 42, at 24.

⁴⁵ *Id.*

⁴⁶ ELLIS, *supra* note 13, at 90.

⁴⁷ *Id.*

⁴⁸ Global Witness, *supra* note 43.

⁴⁹ *Id.*

⁵⁰ Background Note: Liberia, available at <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/6618.htm>.

⁵¹ Binaifer Nowrojee, *The Status of Human Rights Organizations in Sub-Saharan Africa Liberia*, available at <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/africa/liberia.htm>.

Justice and Peace Commission advocated to the international community, calling for the establishment of an independent human rights commission to seek justice for the victims of the two civil wars in Liberia. This led to the creation of the National Human Rights Commission⁵² and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.⁵³ The peace agreement allowed Liberia to hold an election on November 8, 2005, in which Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf was elected President of Liberia, becoming the first female head-of-state in Africa.

Charles Taylor is currently on trial in the UN-backed Special War Crimes Court for Sierra Leone in The Hague on eleven counts of war crimes, crimes against humanity, and other serious violations of international law committed during Sierra Leone's conflict. Taylor is charged with crimes including murdering and mutilating civilians, using women and girls as sex slaves, and abducting adults and children to perform forced labor or become child soldiers.⁵⁴ Charles Taylor is charged based on his connection with the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council, both warring rebel groups in Sierra Leone.⁵⁵ He has yet to be charged for his role in committing human rights atrocities in the two Liberian conflicts.

President Johnson-Sirleaf has helped guide economic reforms in Liberia, resulting in the lifting of restrictions on the international timber and diamond trade. This new economic environment serves as an indicator that Liberia is on a more general path to post-conflict recovery.

⁵² An Act to Repeal the Act of 1997 Creating the Liberian Commission on Human Rights and to Create the Independent National Commission on Human Rights of Liberia (2005), *available at* <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/473c68c72.html>.

⁵³ An Act to Establish the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Liberia (2005), *available at* http://www.ecoi.net/file_upload/1504_1216973850_an-act-to-establish-the-truth-and-reconciliation-commission-trc-of-liberia-2005.pdf.

⁵⁴ Human Rights Watch, Charles Taylor: Liberian Ex-President Goes on Trial, *available at* <http://www.hrw.org/english/docs/2007/05/31/sierra16028.htm>.

⁵⁵ *Id.*

THE FOIA REQUEST PROJECT

The Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (JPC), founded by the Archbishop of Monrovia, is the oldest and most respected human rights organization in Liberia. In 1999, the Catholic Archbishop of the Archdiocese of Monrovia, the Most Reverend Michael Kpakala Francis, one of Liberia's most renowned human rights defenders and leading voice for sustainable peace and reform, received the Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award. The Robert F. Kennedy Center for Justice & Human Rights (RFK Center) has been working on human rights projects in Liberia, specifically with the Justice and Peace Commission and Radio Veritas, since that time. Archbishop Francis was afflicted by a stroke in early 2004 and continues to improve slowly. In February 2005, Monsignor Andrew Karnley was appointed the Apostolic Administrator of the Archdiocese of Monrovia by the Vatican. Monsignor Karnley currently serves as RFK Center's partner on the ground in Liberia.

In hopes of identifying and holding accountable those persons responsible for egregious acts of systematic human rights abuses during the Liberian civil war, the JPC, in conjunction with the RFK Center, worked tirelessly to compile a list of atrocities that occurred during Liberia's devastating civil war. Due to the United States (US) government's intense involvement in Liberian politics, JPC/RFK Center enlisted the assistance of the National Security Archive (NSA) to request information, under the authority of the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), from several US government agencies believed to have vital intelligence on Liberian civil war atrocities.

In June 2006, the RFK Center, on behalf of the JPC, partnered with Catherine Nielsen, Coordinator of the Freedom of Information Project at the NSA, to file the FOIA requests. Since this time the NSA has filed over 175 requests on behalf of the JPC. From those same requests, 540 documents were released (a total of 40,000+ pages) by the Department of State (DOS). Despite the willingness of the DOS to comply with the FOIA requests, the NSA has not been as successful with the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Both the DIA and the CIA have not been forthcoming in producing documents relating to Liberia, as per the FOIA requests.

In June 2007 the NSA filed 50 requests with the CIA and 23 requests with the DIA. Of the 50 requests pending with the CIA, all have been acknowledged, but only ten have been processed. Of the 23 requests pending with the DIA, only nineteen have been acknowledged and all remain to be processed. The RFK Center is currently securing Congressional support so that materials from the DIA and CIA may be acquired.

As of November 2008, the NSA has filed 175 FOIA requests and 38 FOIA appeals, resulting in the release of 1,229 documents (7,653 pages). These requests were based on a list of human rights abuses provided by RFK Center, as well as events identified in a chronology compiled by project interns. Of the 175 FOIA requests, 88 are still pending. Of these, 25 are pending with the State Department, 31 with the CIA, and 22 with the Defense Intelligence Agency.

To most efficiently digest information contained in the documents, the RFK Center solicited the help of former interns and current students at the Urban Morgan Institute at the University of Cincinnati College of Law. The volunteers helped review over 1100 documents, totaling more than 7,500 pages, for information relevant to JPC's investigation. The volunteers then compiled the

relevant documents and recorded their findings for the RFK Center, where the materials were reviewed and evaluated for their usefulness to the JPC.

Through its legal aid and transitional justice projects, the JPC plans to identify individuals and groups responsible for these egregious acts of systematic abuse. The JPC hopes to utilize the information obtained from the FOIA request on behalf of the Liberian community to bring perpetrators to justice in the local courts. The JPC has also shared the information received with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Liberia and collaborate with the TRC throughout the reconciliation process.

The TRC of Liberia was inaugurated on February 20, 2006. The TRC's objective is to promote national peace, security, unity, and reconciliation. Since the TRC began its activities in 2006, it has collected a total of 24,000 testimonies from both victims and perpetrators. The TRC mandate runs for a period of two years beginning June 1, 2006; however, as the TRC established good cause, the National Legislature extended its tenure through June 2009.

The information obtained through the FOIA requests is of great significance to the truth and reconciliation process. The requests pertain to specific human rights violations, such as massacres, and to perpetrators responsible for carrying out such violations. Identification of perpetrators is key to bringing justice to survivors of the conflict; thus, the information will support the TRC's mandate and help promote notions of national peace, security, unity, and reconciliation.

There is ample precedent in both the Clinton and current Bush administrations in supporting truth and reconciliation commissions. Many FOIA requests were filed between 1994 and 1997 for the Truth Commission in Guatemala and, in 2001, FOIA requests were filed for the Panama Truth Commission. FOIA requests were also filed for the Honduran government's National Commission for Human Rights from 1994 to 1999 and for East Timor's Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation from 2001 to 2005. Often, FOIA requests are the only way to gain access to information that would be helpful to the reconciliation process. In light of this positive precedent, the Liberia FOIA document project submitted requests regarding specific human rights atrocities, which are detailed in the following section.

HUMAN RIGHTS ATROCITIES (HRA) IN LIBERIA FROM 1979 TO 2003

- HRA 1. Liberian President William Tolbert's 1979 refusal to allow the bunkering of the US Rapid Deployment Force at Roberts Field. This refusal caused a problem for the CIA and Pentagon, and they decided to shift their support toward Major William Jarbo, who had trained as a Ranger in the United States and had connections to American security officials.
- HRA 2. Formation of the Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA) in March 1973, led by Amos Sawyer. This was a left-leaning political party present in Liberia.
- HRA 3. Formation of Progressive Alliance of Liberia (PAL) in 1978 led by Gabriel Baccus Mathews. This was a left-leaning political party present in Liberia.
- HRA 4. An April 12, 1980 military coup by seventeen army officers that led to the assassination of Liberian President William Tolbert in the Executive Mansion in Monrovia. The coup was staged by Master Sergeant Samuel Doe, and the People's Redemption Council headed by Doe suspended the constitution and assumed full power.
- HRA 5. The April 22, 1980 execution of thirteen high officials of the deposed Liberian government, including: Foreign Minister, C. Cecil Dennis, Jr.; Speaker of the House of Representatives, Richard A. Henries; Chief Justice, James A.A. Pierre; the Director of the Budget; the Minister of Commerce; and Chairman of the ruling True Whig Party. All were publicly killed on the beach in Monrovia.
- HRA 6. The 1982 meeting between Ronald Reagan and Samuel Doe, which led to continued backing of Doe by the Reagan administration and modification of the mutual defense pact that granted staging rights on 24-hour notice at Liberia's sea and airports for the US Rapid Deployment Force.
- HRA 7. 1983 raids at Yekepa mine and at government offices in Nimba County, Liberia carried out by supporters of Army General Thomas Quiwonkpa. The supporters were most likely of the Gio and Mano ethnic groups.
- HRA 8. The August 1984 government forces invasion of a university campus. The invasion was brought about by accusations that individuals, including Amos Sawyer, were involved in attempts to bring down the government.
- HRA 9. The October 15, 1985 Liberian presidential elections and US assessment. Jackson Doe (an ethnic Gio from Nimba) was the winning candidate from the Liberian Action Party for President. Samuel Doe, leader of the National Democratic Party of Liberia, stole the election from Jackson Doe and became President. The US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Chester Crocker, gave a positive assessment of the outcome of the Liberian election on December 10, 1985. He testified that the elections in Liberia may have been imperfect, but the Reagan administration supported the outcome and stated it was a movement toward democracy.
- HRA 10. The infiltration of General Quiwonkpa into Monrovia from Sierra Leone on November 12, 1985. Quiwonkpa reached the radio station and declared rule of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL). This led to the execution of Quiwonkpa by Head of State Doe.

- HRA 11. 1985 campaign of terror in Nimba County, Liberia ordered by Head of State Doe. General Charles Julu, head of the Executive Mansion Guard (EMG), led the bloody purge against the Gio and Mano ethnic groups, who were perceived to support Quiwonkpa.
- HRA 12. Trial of opposition leader Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf in 1985, which prompted Republican members of the US House Foreign Affairs Committee to write to President Samuel Doe in protest. Both Houses of the US Congress requested that aid money be suspended from Liberia after the election, but the Reagan administration did not comply.
- HRA 13. A January 1987 visit by US Secretary of State George Shultz to Liberia as part of a six-country tour of Africa.
- HRA 14. Creation of Nimba International Mining Company (NIMCO) in 1989. NIMCO was created to exploit Mifergui iron extraction from Mount Nimba via the rail link to the port at Buchanan. The key backing for NIMCO was provided to Charles Taylor by French businessmen, such as Robert Saint-Pai, diplomat Michel Dupuch, and Jean-Christophe Mitterand through Campaore in Burkina Faso. They helped Taylor set up a deal with Bureau de recherches géologiques et minérales (BRGM) that was backed by Sumitomo Corporation and African Mining Consortium Ltd.
- HRA 15. Early 1990 counterinsurgency operation conducted by the Liberian Army. The Army targeted ethnic Manos and Gios in Nimba County, killing citizens, burning villages, and looting. This forced the 160,000 civilians in Nimba County to flee into Guinea and the Ivory Coast from January to May. Massacres in February were led by Capt. James Chelly, and Edwin Voker.
- HRA 16. Maintenance of United States military advisors in Monrovia, Liberia in the late 1980s and the involvement of two advisors in 1990 with Head of State Doe's troops during the counter-insurgency operation that took place in Nimba County.
- HRA 17. The June 1990 murder of Moses Duopu, a prominent citizen from Nimba County, Liberia by General Benjamin Yeaten. Duopu was secretary general of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) and publicly announced that he would be a candidate for President. Charles Taylor may have ordered Duopu's murder because of his power within the NPFL.
- HRA 18. June 1990 Massacre in Monrovia of 27 Gio and Mano families that were members of the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL). The massacre was carried out by Moses Thomas, Moses Wright, James Chelly, and George Dweh in consultation with Head of State Doe.
- HRA 19. Series of assassinations of prominent figures in the NPFL between June and August 1990. The NPFL figures included Jackson Doe, Cooper Teah, Gabriel Kpolleh, and up to 80 others associated with NPFL. The purge was allegedly ordered by Taylor.
- HRA 20. July 1990 massacre of 500 ethnic Mandingos, including an imam, who was allegedly beheaded. The attack was carried out by the NPFL insurgents in Bakedu, Lofa County.
- HRA 21. July 29, 1990 attack and murder of over 500 Liberian men, women, and children, who were seeking refuge in Saint Peter's Lutheran church in Sinkor, Monrovia, by the AFL. The attack was led by Capt. Tailey Yonbu. It was in retaliation for the anti-Krahn/Mandingo violence by the NPFL earlier in the month.
- HRA 22. August 2, 1990 massacre of 250 Gios and Manos at JFK Hospital in Monrovia. George Dweh led a group of AFL soldiers to massacre those seeking refuge in the hospital.

- HRA 23. The September 10, 1990 assassination of Liberian President Samuel Doe by Prince Yormie Johnson, leader of the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL), at ECOMOG (The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) monitoring group) headquarters.
- HRA 24. The evacuation of 330 US citizens from Monrovia, Liberia beginning in August 5, 1990 and ending January 9, 1991. The US sent four warships and 2,300 marines to help with the evacuation of the Americans and other foreign citizens as a result of the violent civil war that was heading toward Monrovia.
- HRA 25. The creation of the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO) in May 29, 1991. ULIMO was created through the merger of two factions opposed to the NPFL: the Movement for the Redemption of Muslims (MRM) founded by Alhaji Kromah, and the Liberian United Defense Force (LUDF) established by General Albert Karpah. Karpah was a US-trained Special Forces officer and former minister of defense in Liberia. Karpah was later murdered on June 1, 2002 by associates of Kromah after complaining about Kromah's statements that he was the real force behind the organization.
- HRA 26. October 20, 1991 arrest of Jackson F. Doe. Paul Vaye, Henry Kerdiah, George Mansuo, and George Karsuo arrested Jackson Doe in Buchanan, Grand Bassa County, on the orders of Charles Taylor and murdered him in the town of Zorgowee in Nimba County.
- HRA 27. Accord between Charles Taylor and Firestone. The management at Firestone had an arrangement with factional leadership during the war to organize protection and export of their product. Firestone reportedly paid the NPFL \$2 million annually for protection. NPFL's "G-2" security forces compelled rubber workers to continue work in exchange for use of Firestone communications equipment and a base for Operation Octopus that began in October 1992.
- HRA 28. Operation Octopus. Operation Octopus was the codename of the NPFL assault on Monrovia in October 1992. ECOWAS established a monitoring group, ECOMOG. ECOMOG forces responded to the assault by bombing NPFL positions in Northern Monrovia.
- HRA 29. October 23, 1992 slaying of five Catholic nuns in Gardnersville, Montserrado County. Christopher Varmo and Edward Wowah carried out the operation, on behalf of NPFL.
- HRA 30. The massacre (the Harbel Massacre) of 600 displaced persons at the Harbel Camp in the Firestone plantation on June 6, 1993. An inquiry by the UN Secretary-General concluded that the AFL was responsible, but other observers blamed the NPFL. The victims are said to be buried on the outskirts of the camp.
- HRA 31. The Cotonou Accord of July 25, 1993. The Accord provided for a ceasefire among the NPFL, the AFL, and ULIMO and established a transitional government.
- HRA 32. 1993 murder of six Senegalese ECOMOG soldiers by Oliver Varnie, Timothy Mulbah, and Joe Doe in Valhun on orders from Charles Taylor and his then Defense Minister J. Thomas Wuworyu. Media reports stated their bodies were dumped in a valley in Vahun and NPFL authorities refused to turn the bodies over to ECOMOG High Command. Due to persistent international pressure, the bodies of the six Senegalese were eventually turned over to the ECOMOG High Command.

- HRA 33. The division of ULIMO into ULIMO-J and ULIMO-K in April 1994. ULIMO-J was led by Roosevelt Johnson and represented Krahn interests, while ULIMO-K was led by Al-Haji Kromah and represented Mandingo interests.
- HRA 34. September 1994 massacre of over 100 persons who were hospitalized and/or seeking shelter at the Phebe Hospital. Those killed were fleeing fighting between ULIMO-K and NPFL.
- HRA 35. December 15, 1994 massacre of 48 civilians at Cow Field, Dupont Road, Montserrado County. The civilians were murdered and burned by Paul Vaye, Sam Lartee and other soldiers from the NPFL while they were asleep in their homes. Reported by the NEWS Newspaper, December 19, 1994, Vol. 5 # 151.
- HRA 36. The role of Pacific Architects and Engineers in supporting ECOWAS beginning in late 1994. The firm has close ties to the Pentagon and was hired upon US request and at US expense. The firm provided logistical support to ECOWAS.
- HRA 37. January 1995, Liberian Peace Council (LPC) fighters killed eighteen citizens in Grand Kru County. Reported by the Inquirer Newspaper, January 3, 1995 Vol. 4 # 61.
- HRA 38. The attempted arrest of Roosevelt Johnson on April 6, 1996 by the NPFL and ULIMO-K with ECOMOG support. The attempt led to the third battle for Monrovia, in which the US government supported the beleaguered ULIMO-J troops.
- HRA 39. April 18, 1996 murder of twelve persons in Zuanna Town and Bloun Town, Bomi County. A group of fighters stormed the area and burned down the displacement camp and Karmo Town. Reported by The NEWS Newspaper, December 11, 1996, Vol. 7 # 47.
- HRA 40. September 28, 1996 massacre of about seventeen citizens in Sinje, Grand Cape Mount County. According to a UN press release issued by the Special Representative of the Secretary General Amb. Anthony B. Nyakyi. Reported by the Inquirer Newspaper, Vol. 5 #75; Daily News Vol. 5 # 62; and The NEWS Newspaper, Vol. 7 #17.
- HRA 41. The murder of Samuel Dokie on November 28, 1997. Dokie, a former ally of Taylor, was allegedly murdered by Taylor forces after defecting to found the Central Revolutionary Council (CRC). Dokie was arrested with his family at a checkpoint in Gbarnga. The Special Security Services (SSS), a government force within Liberia dedicated to the protection of the president, allegedly ordered the arrest.
- HRA 42. The murder of Daniel Nyankan on December 16, 1997. Nyankan was found dead somewhere near Freeport, Monrovia with bruises all over his body.
- HRA 43. The discovery of a mass grave in April 1998 in Zorzor, Lofa County. The NPFL has been implicated. The victims, including pregnant women, were bound at the hands and legs before being buried alive in shallow graves.
- HRA 44. The abduction of Nowai Flomo on July 10, 1998. Flomo, a prominent market woman, was taken by nine members of the SSS. She was allegedly abducted from her house at about 11.00 am.
- HRA 45. The attack on Roosevelt Johnson on September 18, 1998 on Camp Johnson Road. The attack claimed the lives of between 53 to 100 people. Johnson and others fled to the US Embassy for protection and were later evacuated to Nigeria and Sierra Leone.

- HRA 46. The execution of 1,500 Liberian civilians at dawn on September 19, 1998. The executions took place pursuant to President Taylor's order that Roosevelt Johnson be evicted from his residence. The operation was spearheaded by Col. Junior Fania, Leo Jebo, Saar Gbollie, Joe Tuah, General Eric Sway, Arthur Saah, and Benedict Mentee.
- HRA 47. The murder of thirteen Krahn individuals on Shiefflin highway on September 19, 1998 by Mark Guahn.
- HRA 48. The massacre of about 25 Quardu-Gboni individuals on August 10, 1999. The massacre took place in Nekabozu, Lofa County by militia men.
- HRA 49. The massacre of about 25 persons in Nikagabozu on September 2, 1999. The massacre was blamed on the Defence Minister, Daniel Chea.
- HRA 50. The murder of Papa George on September 28, 1999. Henrique Cassell, the Deputy Commissioner of Immigration and brother-in-law of President Taylor, shot Mr. George, a taxi-driver, for overtaking him on a road.
- HRA 51. The massacre of about twenty civilians by Siafa Norman on October 10, 1999.
- HRA 52. The massacre of eighteen Mandingo persons in Bawon Town, Zorzor District, Lofa County in January 2000.
- HRA 53. The massacre of 26 unarmed civilians in Gbar, Bomi County in January 2000. The civilians were accused of being supporters of LURD and were killed on the orders of Melvin Sobani.
- HRA 54. The summary execution of more than 100 persons at the Gbatala ATU Training Base in Bong County in 2000 by Charles Taylor, Jr. Some of the victims were trainees charged with failing to follow instruction.
- HRA 55. The summary execution of 42 captives in Voinjama in May 2000 by Joe Gbala. The victims were presumed to be Government of Liberia (GOL) soldiers who had surrendered in a battle between John Town and Zorzor.
- HRA 56. The June 2000 murder of Enoch Dogolea. Dogolea was Vice President when he died.
- HRA 57. The attacks by the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) on Guinea in September 2000. The RUF was accompanied by Liberian fighters and Guinean dissidents including General Zoumanigui. The RUF eventually captured Guéckédou and Macenta.
- HRA 58. The summary execution of fourteen persons in Kornia, Lofa County in March 2001 on the orders of Momo Jibba. Jibba ordered the executions after the GOL recaptured the town from the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD). He also planned and executed the death of Francois Massaquoi, the Youth and Sports Minister at the time.
- HRA 59. The massacre of seven Mandingo individuals by Daniel Gweh and Tony Gonyor in May 2001 in Saclepea, Nimba County.
- HRA 60. The looting of Danane in 2002 and 2003. The looting was perpetrated by the Ivory Coast Patriotic Movement (MPCI) and the Movement for Justice and Peace (MJP).

- HRA 61. The massacre of 110 young men and women in Bopolu, Gbarpolu County on June 9, 2002 by LURD combatant Ofourie Jay (a.k.a. Iron Jacket). The victims were accused of being GOL sympathizers.
- HRA 62. The massacre of 175 persons on the orders of Benjamin Yeaten on July 20, 2002 at Marhair River Bridge, Tubmanburg, Bomi County. The victims were accused of being LURD sympathizers.
- HRA 63. The summary execution of Isaac Gono on September 18, 2002 in Congo Town, Monrovia on the orders of Charles Taylor Jr. Taylor ordered the death of Gono, his driver, because Gono had hit a dog with the car.
- HRA 64. The incursion by Benjamin Yeaten, Joe Tuah, Edward Zamay, Joe Walloe, Osebo Dehmie, and Matthew Karn into the Ivory Coast on the mandate of Charles Taylor on October 21, 2002. The purpose of the incursion was to act as mercenaries for Philip Doh.
- HRA 65. The abuses against Kissi civilians in 2003 by LURD members.
- HRA 66. The murder of Kara Lund, Emmanuel Sharply, and Muse Keita of the Adventist Development Relief Agency by Gbor Vaye on February 28, 2003 in Toe's Town, Grand Geed County. The three victims were en route to Maryland County to pay their employees.
- HRA 67. The murder of John Yormie and Isaac Vaye on the orders of Benjamin Yeaten on June 4, 2003 in Painesville, Montserrado County. Yormie, the Deputy Minister for National Security, and Vaye, the Deputy Minister for Public Works, were arrested by a group of armed men acting under the command of one "Banana" of the SSS who was acting on the orders of Benjamin Yeaten. They were brought to Monrovia and interrogated before they were killed. Their bodies were dumped on the train tracks but have not been found.
- HRA 68. The massacre of Samuel Bokarie, his wife, mother, and two children in Nimba County by Adolphus Sampson, Gola Red, Alphonso Nyanay, and Marcus High Grade on the orders of Benjamin Yeaten on May 6, 2003.
- HRA 69. The murder of a family of five at the railroad bridge near Gbarn, Nimba County on May 26, 2003 by Adolphus Sampson. Sampson, the Special Bodyguard to Benjamin Yeaten, murdered the family upon seeing them with 75,000 Liberian Dollar and two pieces of diamonds.
- HRA 70. The murder of 24 persons on Lofa Bridge by General Sekou Kromah of the LURD and his men in May 2003.
- HRA 71. The murder of eighteen persons at the Stockton Creek Bridge in Monrovia by Charles Taylor, Jr. on June 9, 2003. The victims were POWs arrested by General Roland Duo's men.
- HRA 72. The murder of 42 persons on the Johnson street bridge in Monrovia by Lomax and Marcus High Grade in June or July of 2003. Lomax is the artillery crew commander of the Wild Geese. High Grade is the bodyguard to Yeaten and Nyannay. The victims were accused of looting but were never tried.
- HRA 73. The murder of 78 wounded soldiers by Marcus High Grade and Gola Red on the instruction of Benjamin Yeaten in July 2003 at Combat Camp. The soldiers, who had demanded payment from

Charles Taylor, were transported from Monrovia to the camp on the pretense that they were going to be paid.

HRA 74. The summary execution of 26 persons in Klay by General Abbas of LURD in July 2003.
The victims were arrested on Bushrod Island as POWs.

HRA 75. The feeding of 26 living persons to Charles Taylor's lions by Zeezah Mazah from September 8 to September 20, 2003 at Tubman Farm, Bong County. This was the prescribed punishment for crimes.

HRA 76. The execution of over 26 persons on the Po River – Tubmanburg highway on the orders of General Wasue Donzo of the LURD from October 11 to October 26, 2003. Some of the bodies were dumped in the Po River.

HRA 77. The dumping of bodies in Lofa County. Nineteen mass graves were discovered by researchers for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Locals attributed the dumping to Marine Chief of Staff, Roland Duo.

INDIVIDUALS TO BE INVESTIGATED

1. Kuku Dennis (a.k.a. General Death). Dennis was a commander in the NPRFL and is also a businessman who continues to hold timber rights in Nimba County.
2. General Isaac Musa. Musa, a former AFL officer, served as NPFL battlefield commander and represented Taylor's interests in the 1994 Transitional Government.
3. General Nixon Gaye (a.k.a. Striker) (deceased). Members of Gaye's marine unit admitted to carrying out the Harbel massacre. In 1994, Gaye mutinied against Taylor, reportedly because he was bribed by the anti-NPFL coalition.
4. Colonel (or Major-General) George Dwanna(h) (a.k.a. Jack the Rebel). Dwannah was publicly flogged for maltreating civilians but later became one of Taylor's lieutenants and the deputy chief of staff of the marines for the Liberian army.
5. Mustapha Jalloh (a.k.a. General Kolleh). Jalloh, a Gambian, commanded the Liberian-Ivorian border in the early 1990s. He was allegedly the head of the advisory command, strategy planning, and intelligence training divisions of Taylor's forces.
6. Gbatu Taylor (deceased). Taylor, Charles' brother, was a military leader.
7. Dorothy Musuleng Cooper. Cooper was a former principal of Cuttington University College and served as the Foreign Minister of Liberia from 1994 to 1995.
8. Roland Massaquoi. A presidential candidate for the National Patriotic Party in the 2005 elections, he served under Taylor as the minister of agriculture and planning and economic affairs.
9. Charles Bright. Bright was a businessman who supported the NPFL.
10. Ben Cooper. Cooper was the heir to Samuel Cooper's logging company, Cooper Brothers. The company funded Charles Taylor's wars and criminalized the logging industry. Observers considered Ben Cooper a candidate for a position within President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf's cabinet.
11. William Cooper. A member of Ben's family, Cooper was a businessman who supported the NPFL.
12. Cyril Allen. The chairman of Taylor's ruling party, he is a wealthy half-Nigerian businessman with a large plastics company. He also owns Liberia's Atlantic Wireless Company, which provides long distance communications.
13. George Boley. A leader of the Krahn Tribe, a former Doe advisor, and ex-ULIMO, he established the Liberia Peace Council in 1991.
14. Ruth Milton (a.k.a. Attila). Attila served in the AFL for sixteen years before becoming a commander of the LPC.
15. Joshua Milton Blahyi (a.k.a. General Butt Naked). A military leader who commanded a nude brigade under Roosevelt Johnson, he later became an evangelical Christian preacher.
16. Oscar Quiah. Quiah was a member of the six-person Council of State of the Transitional Government created in August 1995, representing the Liberian National Council (or Conference).

Quiah was involved in opposition politics in the Tolbert era and was temporarily jailed in 1992, but later became the managing director of the Liberia Telecommunications Corporation.

17. Armah Youlo. Roosevelt Johnson's leading rival in ULIMO-J, he became Taylor's transport minister and, in August 1997, Taylor appointed Youlo director of the Monrovia Transit Authority, a state-owned public transport company.

UNKNOWN INDIVIDUALS

1. Those responsible for the massacre of 600 displaced persons in the Harbel camp on June 6, 1993.
2. Those responsible for the second battle for Monrovia on October 15, 1992. The NPFL made secret contact with Prince Johnson, whose fighters infiltrated the Monrovia suburbs. Johnson renounced his deal with Taylor at the last moment. ECOMOG called on its allies to defend Monrovia and later bombed NPFL positions.
3. Those responsible for the murder of Samuel Dokie. Dokie's murder is generally blamed on Taylor's forces.
4. Those responsible for the abduction of Nowai Flomo. Flomo was reportedly abducted by members of the Special Security Unit.
5. Those responsible for the death of Enoch Dogolea.
6. Those responsible for the campaign of terror in Buchanan in 1995. LPC General Robert Totay engaged in an argument with a Ghanaian ECOMOG soldier, who shot him in the leg. A band of angry civilians lynched the disarmed Totay. The LPC then carried out the terror campaign.
7. Those responsible for depopulating the area around Buchanan.

US GOVERNMENT PRESENCE IN LIBERIA

1. Operation Sharp Edge. Elements of a Marine Expeditionary Unit embarked in the USS Saipan amphibious ready group provided support to the US Embassy and stood by to evacuate American citizens and others from June 2 to August 5, 1990. The Marines evacuated a total of 2,609 people between August 5, 1990 and January 9, 1991, which was one of the longest running non-combatant evacuation operations in recent naval history. Operation Sharp Edge ended when the amphibious transport dock USS Nashville, Helicopter Combat Support Squadron FOUR, and elements of the 26th Marine Expeditionary Unit departed the Liberian coastal area known during the operation as "Mamba Station."
2. Liberia Noncombatant Evacuation Operations (NEO). Two Air Mobility Command C-130s (under USAFE operational control) evacuated 96 people from Monrovia, Liberia October 22-25, 1992.
3. Operation Assured Response. During the first week of April 1996, about 500 people sought refuge on US Embassy grounds and another 20,000 in a nearby American housing area. Between April 9 and June 18, 1996, a US Joint Task Force Operation Assured Response evacuated 2,444 people. The bulk of the forces were from Special Operation Command Europe. The Operation was led by Major General Walter E. Gaskin of the 22nd Marine Expeditionary Unit.
4. Operation Assured Lift. A Joint Task Force (JTF) operation to provide airlift and other logistical support to West African states that deployed more than 600 troops to Liberia as part of the region's ongoing Economic Community Military Observation Group (ECOMOG) peacekeeping mission. Operation Assured Lift began February 17, 1997. During the 17-day operation, airmen from Ramstein Air Base, Germany, and the Royal Air Force Mildenhall, England, worked with Army and Marine Special Forces troops from Special Operations Command Europe and Fort Bragg, NC to move West African peacekeeping forces into war-torn Liberia.
5. Operation Shining Express. At the direction of the Secretary of Defense, in June 2003, the US European Command sent military support to the region to provide the US Ambassador an enhanced capability to monitor the situation in Liberia and to be pre-positioned to aid any evacuation of US citizens. Operation Shining Express included special operations forces, Army, Navy and Marine Corps and Reserve components.

AMERICAN INDIVIDUALS WITH LIBERIAN CONNECTIONS

Former Ambassadors to Liberia⁵⁶

1. Edward Richard Dudley, Ambassador 1949-1953.
2. Robert Powell Smith, Ambassador 1979.
3. William L. Swing, Ambassador 1981.
4. Edward Joseph Perkins, Ambassador 1985.
5. James Keough Bishop, Ambassador 1987.
6. Peter Jon de Vos, Ambassador 1990-1992.
7. Bismarck Myrick, Ambassador 1999.
8. Charles Minor, Ambassador 2004.
9. Donald Booth, Ambassador July 29, 2005 - present.

Special Envoys

1. Dane Smith served as the President's Special Envoy for Liberia before he was removed to serve as the US Ambassador to Senegal in July 1996.
2. Smith was replaced by Howard F. Jeter. No end date for the special envoy position is given, but Jeter became the Director of West African Affairs in September 1997.

February 2006 Congressional Delegation to Liberia

1. The Honorable Nancy Pelosi, United States Representative (D-CA)
2. The Honorable James E. Clyburn, United States Representative (D-SC)
3. The Honorable Melvin Watt, United States Representative (D-NC)
4. The Honorable George Miller, United States Representative (D-CA)
5. The Honorable Maxine Waters, United States Representative (D-CA)
6. The Honorable Donald Payne, United States Representative (D-NJ)
7. The Honorable Barbara Lee, United States Representative (D-CA)
8. The Honorable Michael Capuano, United States Representative (D-MA)
9. The Honorable Carolyn Kilpatrick, United States Representative (D-MI)
10. The Honorable Jan Schakowsky, United States Representative (D-IL)
11. The Honorable Joe Wilson, United States Representative (R-SC)

Guests at Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf Reception at the White House, March 21, 2006⁵⁷

1. The Honorable O. Natty B. Davis, National Coordinator, Liberia Reconstruction and Development Committee
2. The Honorable Donald E. Booth, US Ambassador to the Republic of Liberia
3. Mr. Ward Brehm, Chairman of the Board, African Development Foundation
4. The Honorable Cindy L. Courville, Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for African Affairs, National Security Council
5. Mr. Mark Swayne, Director for African Affairs, National Security Council (Guest)
6. Mr. Melvin Foote, Chief Executive Officer, Constituency for Africa

⁵⁶ The Political Graveyard, *available at* <http://politicalgraveyard.com/geo/ZZ/LB.html>.

⁵⁷ Guest List for the Luncheon in Honor of the Visit of Liberian President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, *available at* www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/03/20060321-1.html.

7. The Honorable Jendayi Frazer, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs
8. Mr. Bobby J. Pittman, Jr., Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs (Guest)
9. Mr. James C. Musselman, President and Chief Executive Office, Kosmos Energy, LLC
10. Mr. Robert J. Brown, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, B & C Associates, Inc.
11. Ms. Swin Cash, Player, Detroit Shock, Women's National Basketball Association
12. The Honorable Glen A. Holden, Managing Partner, The Holden Company
13. Pastor John K. Jenkins, Sr., Pastor, First Baptist Church of Glenarden
14. Mr. C. Payne Lucas, Senior Advisor, AllAfrica Global Media and the AllAfrica Foundation
15. Mr. Rodney J. MacAlister, President, African Development Foundation
16. The Honorable Robert Mosbacher, Jr., President and Chief Executive Officer, Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC)
17. The Honorable Donald M. Payne, United States Representative (D-NJ)
18. The Honorable Edward R. Royce, United States Representative (R-CA)
19. The Honorable Christopher H. Smith, United States Representative (R-NJ)
20. Mr. Richard Soudriette, President, IFES
21. Mr. Lorenzo B. Wyatt, Chief Executive Officer, LBNO LLC
22. The Honorable Andrew Young, Chairman, GoodWorks International

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS:
HUMAN RIGHTS ATROCITIES (HRA) IN LIBERIA FROM 1979 TO 2003

I. Introduction

This section reports on the final discovery of information obtained from US Government documents released under the FOIA. The documents provided to the RFK Center by the NSA contain information on 30 different incidents of human rights atrocities identified as "of interest" to the RFK Center and the JPC. The majority of the documents below are from the US Department of State, while a few additional relevant documents have come from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the US Marines.

II. Discussion

HRA 3: Formation of Progressive Alliance of Liberia (PAL) in 1978 led by Gabriel Baccus Mathews. This was a left-leaning political party present in Liberia.

DOS-510: *Issued April 15, 1979; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Possible Press Guidance on Monrovia Rioting; Cable # 2880.*

- PAL held the first protest in Monrovia since 1955 to demonstrate against the rise in rice prices. The Government of Liberia dispersed security forces into the crowd and the event resulted in widespread looting and riots.

DOS-512: *Issued April 18, 1979; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: President Tolbert on the Current Situation; Cable # 3015.*

- President Tolbert met with a US State Department official and told him that the PAL protests were not about the price of rice. Tolbert was concerned that PAL wanted regime change and to institute a communist form of government.

DOS-513: *Issued April 15, 1979; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Possible Press Guidance on Monrovia Rioting; Cable # 2880.*

- This cable provides some of the background of the protest and riots. PAL was allegedly supported by two other radical organizations, the University of Liberia Student Union (ULSA) and the All People's Freedom Alliance (APFA). These two groups received guidance from Togba Nah Tipoteh, a leader of the Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA).

HRA 4: An April 12, 1980 military coup by seventeen army officers that led to the assassination of Liberian President William Tolbert in the Executive Mansion in Monrovia. The coup was staged by Master Sergeant Samuel Doe, and the People's Redemption Council headed by Doe suspended the constitution and assumed full power.

CIA-1: *Issued April 12, 1980; Subject: National Intelligence Daily; MORI DocID # 1426641.*

- Report briefly mentioned the possible murder of President Tolbert by junior members of his Presidential Guard. In a radio broadcast, Samuel Doe said the coup was justified by rampant corruption.

CIA-2: *Issued April 14, 1980; Subject: National Intelligence Daily; MORI DocID # 1426642.*

- Report gives additional details on the coup led by Samuel Doe. It also reports on mistreatment of prisoners by the new government and the backlash against Americo-Liberians.

HRA 5: The April 22, 1980 execution of thirteen high officials of the deposed Liberian government, including: Foreign Minister, C. Cecil Dennis, Jr.; Speaker of the House of Representatives, Richard A. Henries; Chief Justice, James A.A. Pierre; the Director of the Budget; the Minister of Commerce; and Chairman of the ruling True Whig Party. All were publicly killed on the beach in Monrovia.

DOS-16: *Issued May 29, 1980; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Gray Press Release on Visit; Cable # 143719.*

- Message released by US Congressman William H. Gray, III about a prospective visit to Liberia. Mentions the recent coup in Liberia followed by the assassination of many high level government officials. Also mentions that \$350 million of US private investment is located in Liberia. The purpose of the visit was to meet with the new Liberian Government officials and assess whether it would be suitable for a future Presidential delegation.

DOS-19: *Issued June 1, 1980; To: US Embassy in Monrovia; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Washington Star Article of June 1, 1980; Cable # 144713.*

- Article discusses the bad relations between Liberia and neighboring countries after the coup. Countries, including Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and the Ivory Coast were critical of the coup and assassination of government officials. Liberian Foreign Minister Gabriel Bacchus Matthews announced it would suspend obligations to ECOWAS.

DOS-20: *Issued June 1, 1980; To: US Embassy in Monrovia; From: Washington, DC; Subject: New York Times Article of June 1, 1980; Cable # 144482.*

- Article discusses upcoming US delegation to Liberia. The US Government was still concerned about the fate of 80 people who were detained as political prisoners after the coup. Mentions how a Liberian delegation was denied from an Organization of African States meeting in Nigeria and how Samuel Doe was denied entry into an ECOWAS meeting held in Togo as a reaction to the coup and assassination of the political leaders.

DOS-25: *Issued June 4, 1980; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: US Special Mission to Liberia: First Morning with Liberian Officials; Cable # 05114.*

- When asked by US government officials about the executions, Liberian Minister of Justice Cheapoo stated the people of Liberia wanted the executions to happen. Cheapoo is quoted, “We had to act as the people wanted it.”

DOS-839: *Issued: April 1, 1980; To: US Embassy in Monrovia; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Text of Solarz Statement on Dennis Execution; Cable # 108658.*

- Former Foreign Minister Cecil Dennis was executed ten days after inquiring on the process for being granted asylum in the United States. US Congressman Stephen Solarz from the House Subcommittee on Africa expressed regret that the US had failed to grant asylum in a timely manner.

DOS-841: *Issued: April 22, 1980; To: All African Diplomatic Posts; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Situation in Liberia at 1900 GMT April 22; Cable # 106600.*

- The report issued by the United States Government described the scene while the Tolbert government was overthrown as cheerful and listed the thirteen officials executed on the beach. The report also detailed statements from Ambassador Smith urging the new head of state Samuel Doe to give due process for those officials accused of treason.

DOS-842: *Issued: April 22, 1980; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Execution of Former Liberian Officials; Cable #: 039779.*

- This report detailed the execution of the thirteen officials under the Tolbert regime and the environment surrounding the assassinations. The report states that only the press and soldiers were allowed to be present and that the soldiers recommended that the press take pictures of those about to be executed.

NLC-14: *Issued April 23, 1980; To: U.S. President Carter, From: Warren Christopher.*

- Memorandum noting the conversation Ambassador Smith had with Liberian Foreign Minister Mathews expressing shock and dismay at the execution of the Government officials. The memorandum also mentioned the preparation to evacuate American citizens due to the instability.

HRA 6: The 1982 meeting between Ronald Reagan and Samuel Doe, which led to continued backing of Doe by the Reagan administration and modification of the mutual defense pact that granted staging rights on 24-hour notice at Liberia’s sea and airports for the US Rapid Deployment Force.

DOS-270: *Issued February 5, 1982; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Doe Requests Meeting with President and Secretary; Cable # 01227.*

- First formal request from Doe to meet with US President Reagan. This cable lists positive reasons for Regan to meet Doe, including the opportunity to press upon Doe the importance of returning to civilian rule.

DOS-274: *Issued April 15, 1982; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: DAS Meeting with Doe on President Reagan's Invitation for Official Working Visit; Cable # 03638.*

- US Embassy officials were invited to the Executive Mansion in order to receive Head of State Doe's acceptance of an invitation to meet with US President Reagan at the White House. The official conveyed that President Reagan wanted to discuss, in particular, Libyan involvement in Africa, the Western Sahara, and the Middle East.

DOS-293: *Issued August 20, 1982; To: US Embassy in Monrovia; From: Washington, DC; Subject: CIC Doe Meeting with the Congressional Black Caucus; Cable # 234562.*

- Head of State Doe and his delegation met with members of the Congressional Black Caucus while in Washington, DC for the President Reagan visit. At this meeting, Doe stressed the successes of the "revolution." Doe pointed out that all confiscated private property had been returned to its rightful owners and noted the establishment of a Constitutional Commission. US Congressmen Dixon, Rangel, Gray, Hawkins, and Fautroy were present.

HRA 7: 1983 raids at Yekepa mine and at government offices in Nimba County, Liberia carried out by supporters of Army General Thomas Quiwonkpa. The supporters were most likely of the Gio and Mano ethnic groups.

DOS-94: *Issued December 11, 1985; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Head of State Doe's Speech on the State of the Nation; Cable # 14379.*

- Head of State Doe referenced the "Nimba Raid" in his speech and the attempt of General Quiwonkpa's supporters to overthrow the People's Redemption Council. In his speech, Doe mentioned executive clemency granted to ten people convicted of treason in those raids.

DOS-174: *Issued November 23, 1983; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Further Developments in Conspiracy Case; Cable # 11415.*

- Paul Toweh, a member of the AFL, turned himself in to authorities for his involvement in the Yekepa raids. Toweh stated that the raids were part of a larger anti-government conspiracy led by General Quiwonkpa. Also, assisting Quiwonkpa in fighting was Col. John Nuah, a former logistics commander with the AFL.

DOS-175: *Issued November 28, 1983; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Quiwonkpa Urged to Turn Self In; Cable # 11538.*

- The Liberian Government publicly called for three individuals to turn themselves in for their connection to the attempted coup and raids in Nimba County. General Quiwonkpa, Samuel Dokie, and Joseph Farnigalo were all publicly cited as involved in the coup attempt. Dokie was known to be the leader of the November 20, 1983 attack on the Lamco Mining Camp.

DOS-177: Issued December 7, 1983; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia;
Subject: Alleged Coup Plotters Cooper and Lua Speak; Cable # 11926.

- Two coup plot suspects, Maj. Kolenko Lua and Joseph Cooper, placed General Quiwonkpa in Nimba County at the time of the Lamco Mine raids. However, it was unclear the level of involvement Quiwonkpa had in sanctioning or planning the attack.

DOS-178: Issued December 13, 1983; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia;
Subject: Civilian Rule was Coup Motive, Say Suspects Luo and Wonsealey; Cable # 12134.

- Kalongo Lua, former Assistant Agriculture Minister, and Maj. Darbe Wonsealey, confirmed that the reason for the coup attempt was to restore Liberia to civilian government rule.

DOS-179: Issued December 16, 1983; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia;
Subject: Doe's State of the Nation Address; Cable # 12273.

- In his speech, Head of State Doe emphasized that he wanted Liberia to return to civilian rule. He also accused General Quiwonkpa of meeting with the Soviet and Ghanaian Ambassadors to ask for assistance and arms.

DOS-181: Issued January 10, 1984; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia;
Subject: Military Tribunal Agrees to Separate Trials and Limited Press Coverage; Cable # 00306.

- Government newspaper "New Liberian" reported that two separate trials would be held for those accused of plotting the coup in Monrovia and for those connected to the raids in Yekepa, Nimba County.

DOS-182: Issued January 13, 1984; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia;
Subject: First State Witness Testifies in Conspiracy Trial; Cable # 00484.

- Government witness Joe Saye Cooper implicated General Quiwonkpa, Samuel Dokie, and D.K. Wonsealey in the alleged Nimba conspiracy.

DOS-212: Issued December 1, 1983; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia;
Subject: Quiwonkpa's Coup Plot: Chronology; Cable # 11677.

- Report provided a timeline of the events surrounding General Quiwonkpa's breach People's Redemption Council (PRC) and alleged coup attempt against Head of State Doe.

DOS-213: Issued April 10, 1984; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia;
Subject: Internal Reaction to Doe's Decision to Pardon Ten Defendants; Cable # 03766.

- Response to Head of State Doe's pardon and release of ten defendants that were allegedly involved in the November 1983 coup attempt. The remaining three defendants had been executed on April 8, 1984.

HRA 8: August 1984 government forces invade university campus. The invasion was brought about by accusations that individuals, including Amos Sawyer, were involved in attempts to bring down the government.

DOS-189: *Issued August 23, 1984; To: US Embassy in Monrovia; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Press Guidance; Cable # 249713.*

- Cable reported that Liberian security forces had been instructed to disperse protesting students on campus. The students had been protesting because of the arrest of Dr. Amos Sawyer, who was a university dean and political party leader. Students were known to be injured and one American professor was reportedly stripped and beaten by troops during the clash.

DOS-190: *Issued August 23, 1984; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Doe's August 22 Speech; Cable # 09072.*

- Speech of Head of State Doe from August 22, 1984. Doe discussed the arrest of Dr. Amos Sawyer. He stated Sawyer was attempting to overthrow the Liberian Government in order to install a socialist regime.

DOS-191: *Issued August 24, 1984; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Sitrep⁵⁸ 4: Security Situation as of 1530 August 24; Cable # 09097.*

- Head of State Doe stated that anyone distributing inflammatory leaflets would be flogged. The Liberian Government admitted for the first time that students were wounded by soldiers

DOS-192: *Issued August 25, 1984; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Chronology of Liberian Events; Cable # 09099.*

- The report gave a timeline of events from July 20 to August 23. It included the arrest of Amos Sawyer because Doe feared that he was a part of a coup attempt that would result in a socialist regime.

DOS-198: *Issued September 11, 1984; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: GOL Increases Casualty Figures for Campus Clash; Cable # 09463.*

- Minister of Health, Martha Sendolo-Belleh, stated that 102 persons had been injured in the campus attack, including five who received bullet wounds.

DOS-201: *Issued September 7, 1984; To: US Embassy in Monrovia; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Post Article on Liberia; Cable # 09072.*

- An article from the Washington Post, a US newspaper, described students as being stripped, raped, and flogged by soldiers during the university protest. Liberian groups outside the country reported that between eighteen and 60 people died in the protests when soldiers fired on them. The Liberian Government denied that anyone had been killed.

DOS-214: *Issued August 25, 1984; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: US Professor Beaten by Soldiers during Attack on University; Cable # 09101.*

- An American Political Science Professor, who was stripped and beaten during the attack, gave a US Embassy official a detailed account of his ordeal.

⁵⁸ Sitrep is a US Department of State abbreviation for "Situation Report." This abbreviation is used in various documents released under the FOIA.

He also provided a detailed account of the soldiers' violent response to the protest.

HRA 9: The October 15, 1985 Liberian presidential elections and US assessment.

Jackson Doe (an ethnic Gio from Nimba) was the winning candidate from the Liberian Action Party for President. Samuel Doe, leader of the National Democratic Party of Liberia, stole the election from Jackson Doe and became President. The US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Chester Crocker, gave a positive assessment of the outcome of the Liberian election on December 10, 1985. He testified that the elections in Liberia may have been imperfect, but the Reagan administration supported the outcome and stated it was a movement toward democracy.

DOS-85: *Issued November 14, 1985; To: All African Diplomatic Posts; From: AF/P; Subject: Africa in the US Press, November 13, 1985; Cable # 348659.*

- United Press International reports on the coup attempt by General Quiwonkpa. The report mentions the election that took place one month earlier were declared free and fair by the US government, but three opposition parties claimed the election was rigged and refused to take their seats in the House of Representatives. The report states that observers in Ivory Coast stated that if the coup had succeeded, it would resolve a problem for the Reagan administration as General Doe can be "unpredictable" and is an embarrassing US ally.

HRA 10: The infiltration of General Quiwonkpa into Monrovia from Sierra Leone on November 12, 1985. Quiwonkpa reached the radio station and declared rule of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL). This led to the execution of Quiwonkpa by Head of State Doe.

DOS-68: *Issued November 12, 1985; To: All African Diplomatic Post; From: Washington, DC; Subject: November 12 Press Guidance on Situation in Liberia; Cable # 346707.*

- Cable confirmed that General Thomas Quiwonkpa announced on Liberian Radio that forces loyal to him overthrew the government of Samuel Doe. However, it also stated that Head of State Doe announced that the coup had failed. The US expressed confusion over the situation.

DOS-69: *Issued November 12, 1985; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Coup in Liberia; Cable # 13150.*

- Cable confirms that firefights began around the Executive Mansion at 5:40 am and continued for over an hour. General Quiwonkpa announced that there would be a dawn to dusk curfew and that Head of State Doe was in hiding.

DOS-71: *Issued November 12, 1985; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Liberian Coup Situation Report No. 2; Cable # 13156.*

- Report confirms that General Quiwonkpa and his troops invaded Monrovia from Sierra Leone, where they obtained AK-47s and rocket launchers. US

Military personnel observed 5,000-6,000 pro-Quiwonkpa supporters in the streets walking toward the university area from downtown.

DOS-74: *Issued November 13, 1985; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Liberian Coup Situation Report No. 19; Cable # 13185.*

- Report states that gunfire was still on-going in Monrovia and that General Quiwonkpa was missing. Government forces raided the Liberian Action Party (LAP) headquarters and substantial gunfire was heard.

DOS-75: *Issued November 13, 1985; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Liberian Coup Situation Report No. 20; Cable # 13192.*

- Eyewitness reported seeing General Quiwonkpa arrest AFL Chief of Staff Henry Dubar and Defense Minister Gray Allison. It was reported Col. Maxwell Weah was killed the morning of November 13.

DOS-80: *Issued November 13, 1985; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Liberian Coup Situation Report No. 18; Cable # 13184.*

- Report states sources confirm the arrest of Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf on November 12, 1985 around 6:30 pm.

DOS-81: *Issued November 13, 1985; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Liberian Coup Situation Report No. 19; Cable # 13215.*

- US Embassy reported that up to 200 Liberians may have died during the coup attempt. The Liberian Government reported that ten rebels and one Government soldier died.

DOS-83: *Issued November 14, 1985; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Political Update; Cable # 13251.*

- Mentions executions of Provost Marshall, Reeves Bouay, and Criminal Investigation Division Director Langford. There was no evidence that a trial was held before these executions.

DOS-87: *Issued November 15, 1985; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Doe Announces Quiwonkpa's Demise; Cable # 13257.*

- Head of State Doe announced General Quiwonkpa was captured and killed by Government Armed Forces at Elwa Junction. An army convoy brought Quiwonkpa's body into Monrovia for the public to see. Head of State Doe also announced a strict curfew and dire consequences for any person harboring rebels.

DOS-97: *Issued December 31, 1985; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Five Liberians Indicted for Treason; Cable # 14947.*

- Liberian Solicitor General McDonald Krakue announced five individuals would be tried for the November 12, 1985 coup attempt. They were: James Holder (Liberian Chamber of Commerce); Harry Graves, Jr. (LAP); Robert Phillips (LAP activist); Major Anthony Marqui; and Lawrence Mills (former military officer).

HRA 11: 1985 campaign of terror in Nimba County, Liberia ordered by Head of State Doe. General Charles Julu, head of the Executive Mansion Guard (EMG), led the bloody purge against the Gio and Mano ethnic groups, who were perceived to support Quiwonkpo.

DOS-83: *Issued November 14, 1985; To: Washington, D.C.; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Political Update 1985-45; Cable # 13251.*

- The update refers to reports from Monrovia and Nibma County of beating and arrests of those belonging to Gio and Mano ethnic groups, as they are seen to be supportive of General Quiwonkpa (who is Gio/Mano).

HRA 12: Trial of opposition leader Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf in 1985, which prompted Republican members of the US House Foreign Affairs Committee to write to President Samuel Doe in protest. Both Houses of the US Congress requested that aid money be suspended from Liberia after the election, but the Reagan administration did not comply.

DOS-80: *Issued: November 13, 1985; To: Washington, D.C.; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Liberian SITREP No. 18 08207; Cable # 13183.*

- The situation report confirms that there have been reliable reports that Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf was arrested in the evening of November 12, 1985. The report also noted the tense atmosphere in Monrovia due to increased gunfire and the presence of troops said to be supporters of Quiwonkpa.

HRA 13: A January 1987 visit by US Secretary of State George Shultz to Liberia as part of a six-country tour of Africa.

DOS-47: *Issued January 14, 1987; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Secretary's Meeting with Liberian Opposition; Cable # 00959.*

- The Liberian opposition leaders expressed their disappointment with Head of State Doe and the lack of fair elections in the country. The leaders also expressed disappointment towards the US for not using its leverage to ensure free and fair elections. The Liberian opposition leaders who attended the meeting included: Jackson Doe (LAP); Gabriel Kpoleh (LUP); Gabriel Baccus Matthews (UPP); Dr. Levi Zangai (LAP); John Kuyon (LUP); Maxwell Carter (Independent); and Isaac Wiles (Independent).

DOS-48: *Issued January 14, 1987; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Secretary's Meeting with Head of State Doe; Cable # 00958.*

- When asked about political unrest, Doe complains that the opposition leaders paint a "dark picture" of Liberia. Doe claimed that opposition leaders were dishonest and "told lies in Washington." Head of State Doe also expressed a fear that dissidents in the US were raising money to overthrow the Liberian Government.

DOS-67: *Issued January 15, 1987; To: The White House; From: Secretary Shultz; Subject: My Visit to Liberia; Cable # 01108.*

- Secretary Shultz wrote to US President Reagan that his visit to Liberia was “troubling and challenging.” Shultz mainly refers to the dire economic situation in Liberia, but also mentions Doe’s preoccupation with the political opposition and insecurity. Shultz also briefly mentions his meeting with the opposition leaders but provided little detail of that meeting.

DOS-321: *Issued January 12, 1987; To: The White House; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Secretary’s Visit to Liberia: GOL Memorandum; Cable # 00377.*

- Referenced a seventeen-page memorandum that the Liberian Foreign Ministry gave to the US Embassy in preparation for Head of State Doe’s meeting with Secretary Shultz. The memo contained political, military, and economic concerns Head of State Doe wanted to discuss with Shultz.

DOS-332: *Issued January 23, 1987; To: The White House; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Further on Reconciliation; Cable # 00869.*

- After Secretary Shultz’s visit, the Liberian press and public urged political leaders to open up reconciliation talks. Newspapers that were reporting on Shultz’s visit and encouraging reconciliation included *The Mirror* and *The New Liberian*.

HRA 15: Early 1990 counterinsurgency operation conducted by the Liberian Army. The Army targeted ethnic Manos and Gios in Nimba County, killing citizens, burning villages, and looting. This forced the 160,000 civilians in Nimba County to flee into Guinea and the Ivory Coast from January to May. Massacres in February were led by Capt. James Chelly, and Edwin Voker.

DOS-357: *Issued May 29, 1990; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Situation Report as of 1700 Hours, May 29, 1990; Cable # 05463.*

- AFL soldiers had deployed 700 soldiers to Kakata and regained control in the area. They were moving towards Salala and Gbarnga next. Arrest of Gio and Mano citizens had recently decreased, but an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, James Belleh, had been arrested.

DOS-358: *Issued May 30, 1990; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Situation Report as of 1800, May 30, 1990; Cable # 05496.*

- Overnight about 30 Gios and Manos from Nimba, who sought refuge in the United Nations Development Program compound, were abducted and killed.

HRA 16: Maintenance of United States military advisors in Monrovia, Liberia in the late 1980s and the involvement of two advisors in 1990 with Head of State Doe’s troops during the counter-insurgency operation that took place in Nimba County.

DOS-119: *Issued June 29, 1990; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Liberian Civil War Chronology; Cable # 06421.*

- This cable reports that on January 29th 1989, BBC reported that US military advisors were in Nimba.

HRA 17: The June 1990 murder of Moses Duopu, a prominent citizen from Nimba County, Liberia by General Benjamin Yeaten. Duopu was secretary general of the NPFL and publicly announced that he would be a candidate for President. Charles Taylor may have ordered Duopu's murder because of his power within the NPFL.

DOS-553: *Issued July 8, 1990; To: Washington, DC; From: Freetown Embassy; Subject: UPP Considering Endorsing NPFL; Cable # 03093.*

- The UPP contemplated Liberia's future and the possibility for stability if NPFL leader Charles Taylor took control of the government. One of its concerns was for the prediction that Taylor would order the execution of Moses Duopu, as he was a Gio and Secretary General of the NPFL.

DOS-554: *Issued September 15, 1990; To: Washington, DC; From: Lagos Embassy; Subject: A Taylor Program of Nimba Rivals?; Cable # 14894.*

- A US Embassy official met with an ethnic Gio Liberian with ties to the NPFL. The Liberian stated Charles Taylor executed three prominent Nimba County Gios, including Moses Duopu.

HRA 18: June 1990 Massacre in Monrovia of 27 Gio and Mano families that were members of the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL). The massacre was carried out by Moses Thomas, Moses Wright, James Chelly, and George Dweh in consultation with Head of State Doe.

Maybe DOS-119: *Issued June 29, 1990; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Liberian Civil War Chronology; Cable # 06421.*

- Timeline reports Gio and Mano soldiers executed in June of 1990. The report says that prior to execution, 25 soldiers manage to escape and seek refuge in Methodist Church in Sinkor.

HRA 19: Series of assassinations of prominent figures in the NPFL between June and August 1990. The NPFL figures included Jackson Doe, Cooper Teah, Gabriel Kpolleh, and up to 80 others associated with NPFL. The purge was allegedly ordered by Taylor.

DOS-375: *Issued July 16, 1990; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Situation Report as of 1800; Cable # 06994.*

- Harassment and killing by armed men continues. On July 16, Post heard three separate reports of masked military men coming to the homes of a prominent journalist and opposition politician Gabriel Kpolleh. Masked men went into the home of photographer B.W. King and robbed and killed him.

DOS-554: *Issued September 15, 1990; To: Washington, DC; From: Lagos Embassy; Subject: A Taylor Program of Nimba Rivals?; Cable # 14894.*

- On September 12 a Liberian Gio with ties to the NPFL said that Taylor had executed at least three prominent Nimba county Gios in the last three weeks.

These three are supposedly Jackson Doe, Moses Duopu, and David Duayen.⁵⁹

DOS-628: *Issued October 6, 1993; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Sitrep as of 1700 Hours, 6 October 93; Cable # 05203.*

- Situation report indicates the unlikelihood of a coalition working, noting that standard-bearers of the past coalition from the 1985 election were either dead (Jackson Doe and Edward Kesselly) or missing (Gabriel Kpolleh).

HRA 20: July 1990 massacre of 500 ethnic Mandingos, including an imam, who was allegedly beheaded. The attack was carried out by the NPFL insurgents in Bakedu, Lofa County.

DOS-353: *Issued July 24, 1990; To: Washington, DC; From: Conakry Embassy; Subject: Refugees in Guinea: Anatomy of a New Influx; Cable # 03290.*

- This cable reported on the influx of refugees into Guinea. Many of those fleeing Liberia were Mandingos who said that they leaving because of violence by NPFL rebels.

DOS-409: *Issued July 27, 1990; To: Washington, DC; From: Abidjan Embassy; Subject: Departure of Vionjama Based [] Group; Cable # 16223.*

- Report of an official who spoke with a Liberian man who witnessed the bodies of 300 Mandingo citizens killed by the NPFL in Bakedu on July 12, 1990. Report stated that while upper ranks of the NPFL were better organized, the bulk of the NPFL fighters were unruly and strongly motivated by ethnic hatred.

HRA 21: July 29, 1990 attack and murder of over 500 Liberian men, women, and children, who were seeking refuge in Saint Peter's Lutheran church in Sinkor, Monrovia by the AFL. The attack was led by Capt. Tailey Yonbu. It was in retaliation for the anti-Krahn/Mandingo violence by the NPFL earlier in the month.

DOS-243: *Issued: January 25, 1995; To: Washington, DC; From: Medecins Sans Frontieres; Subject: Horror and Slavery in Liberia, Report on Human Rights Violations in Liberia.*

- Report documenting witness testimonies included statements that, on July 31, 1990, 600 unarmed civilians in Lutheran church were killed by governmental troops.

DOS-343: *Issued: July 27, 1993; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Sawyer Calls Cotonou a Gift of Peace; Cable # 03788.*

- This cable indicates that Sawyer will implement a general amnesty for war-related conduct, but not blanket forgiveness based merely on status as a member of a warring faction. He also stated that UN Under-Secretary for Political Affairs James Jonah had informed him of the formation of a UN

⁵⁹ See HRA 17 which indicates that Duopu was executed in June, whereas this would indicate him being executed in August or September.

commission to investigate humanitarian law in Liberia since the inception of the conflict in late 1989, including the 1990 Lutheran Church massacre committed by the AFL as well as last May's Carter Camp tragedy.

DOS-386: *Issued August 4, 1990; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Situation Report as of 1800; Cable # 07743.*

- Reports that the few people who have ventured out into the downtown and Sinkor areas in recent days invariably report that many bodies remain in the streets, and an epidemic becomes a real threat. The 186 persons killed in the massacre at the Lutheran church remain where they fell. After six days, the bodies can no longer be moved, and MSF Belgian doctors hope to find means to blanket the place with a caustic solution or to burn the bodies.

HRA 22: August 2, 1990 massacre of 250 Gios and Manos at JFK Hospital in Monrovia. George Dweh led a group of AFL soldiers to massacre those seeking refuge in the hospital.

DOS-382: *Issued July 25, 1990; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Situation Report as of 1400, July 25, 1990; Cable # 07365.*

- Prior to the August 1990 massacre, AFL soldiers entered JFK Hospital and beat and evicted displaced persons seeking refuge there. Attacking displaced persons around Monrovia had become a pattern of the AFL.

HRA 23: The September 10, 1990 assassination of Liberian President Samuel Doe by Prince Yormie Johnson, leader of the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL), at ECOMOG (The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) monitoring group) headquarters.

DOS-100: *Issued September 30, 1990; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Liberian Situation Report as of 1700 Hours, Sept. 30, 1990; Cable # 09481.*

- NPFL breached a ceasefire reached earlier by launching a sustained attack against all AFL positions near the Executive Mansion. Over the past four days the NPFL, INPFL, AFL, and ECOMOG engaged in military activity. Also, Charles Taylor mentioned in an interview that he believed the Doe assassination "was arranged by the American Embassy and ECOMOG."

DOS-101: *Issued September 10, 1990; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Doe Reportedly Dead; Cable # 08875.*

- INPFL Field Commander Peter Mandia announced that Head of State Doe is dead. He told a US Embassy official that Doe's body was at Island Hospital.

DOS-243: *Issued: January 25, 1995; To: Washington, DC; From: Mediciens Sans Frontieres; Subject: Horror and Slavery in Liberia. Report on Human Rights Violations in Liberia.*

- Report documenting witness testimonies included statement that on September 10, 1990 President Samuel Doe was tortured and killed by Prince Johnson's break-away faction INPFL.

DOS-393: *Issued: September 10, 1990; To: Washington, D.C.; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: INPFL Requests US Assistance in Getting Interim Government to Liberia; Cable # 08898.*

- Report states that a letter was delivered to the US Embassy from Prince Johnson, asking for US assistance in providing an interim government after the INPFL ousted Samuel Doe on September 10, 1990. Regarding the ousting of Doe, Johnson claimed that INPFL had planned on court martialing Doe, but he died during the night due to gunshot wounds.

DOS-394: *Issued September 11, 1990; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Liberia Situation Report as of 1900 Hours, Sept. 11, 1990; Cable # 08927.*

- Report states that Head of State Doe was likely tortured after being captured by the INPFL. General Quainoo heard rumors that Doe's ears, lips, and fingers were cut off.

HRA 24: The evacuation of 330 US citizens from Monrovia, Liberia beginning in August 5, 1990 and ending January 9, 1991. The US sent four warships and 2,300 marines to help with the evacuation of the Americans and other foreign citizens as a result of the violent civil war that was heading toward Monrovia.

DOS-102: *Issued January 8, 1991; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Close Out of MARG/JTF Evacuations from Monrovia; Cable # 00173.*

- Summary of the evacuation procedures used to remove 2,069 individuals from Liberia, which included the 330 US citizens.

DOS-106: *Issued August 5, 1990; To: US Embassy in Monrovia; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Plans to Draw Down US Embassy Staff in Monrovia; Cable # 757667.*

- Report discusses plan to remove US Embassy staff due to explicit threats from Rebel Leader Prince Johnson to hold US citizens hostage.

DOS-113: *Issued June 6, 1990; To: All Diplomatic and Consular Posts; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Situation Report No. 11: Situation as of 1500 EDT, June 6; Cable # 183670.*

- June 6 situation report stated that the US government would provide charter flights for up to 360 US citizens out of Liberia. The report stated that immediate payment would not be required in order to encourage more Americans to leave.

DOS-114: *Issued June 6, 1990; To: All Diplomatic Posts; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Press Guidance; Cable # 177694.*

- Press guidance prepared for briefing stated that due to deteriorating situation in Liberia, the US ordered non-essential US citizens and US government dependants to leave. The guidance stated that while the airport remained open, rebels were closing in on the airport and that the US government was

afraid there would soon be no commercial means to escape. Thus, the US Navy had been instructed to remain off the coast of Liberia to take US citizens in case the airport closed.

DOS-115: *Issued September 2, 1990; To: Washington, D.C.; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Liberia Situation as of 1500 Hours, Sept. 2; Cable # 123412.*

- Situation report states that it evacuated an additional 63 more people, including 6 US citizens and the Korean ambassador.

DOS-116: *August 29, 1990; To: Washington, D.C.; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Liberia Situation as of 1800 Hours, Aug. 29, 1990; Cable # 205366.*

- The situation report of August 29 states that the US evacuated an additional 83 persons, including 6 US Citizens.

DOS-117: *Issued August 21, 1990; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Possible Threat to Americans; Cable # 08292.*

- Report was a warning of a discussion Head of State Doe and a Krahn advisor had about taking US citizens hostage in order to get the US Government to pay for reconstruction projects in Liberia.

DOS-391: *Issued: September 6, 1990; To: Washington, D.C.; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: TFL101: Situation Report As Of 1800 Hours, Sept. 6, 1990; Cable #011636*

- The Situation Report mentioned that the US Task Force evacuated 77 foreigners out of Monrovia, Liberia, including four US citizens, along with other foreign officials.

DOS-395: *September 12, 1990; To: Washington, D.C.; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Liberia Situation as of 1900 Hours, Sept. 12; Cable # 061035.*

- US Task Force evacuated 20 persons, including six non-official Americans.

HRA 27: Accord between Charles Taylor and Firestone. The management at Firestone had an arrangement with factional leadership during the war to organize protection and export of their product. Firestone reportedly paid the NPFL \$2 million annually for protection. NPFL's "G-2" security forces compelled rubber workers to work in exchange for use of Firestone communications equipment and base for Operation Octopus that began in October 1992.

DOS-465: *December 13, 1991; To: Washington, D.C.; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Liberia Situation as of 1900 Hours, Dec. 13, 1991; Cable # 08897.*

- December 13, 1991 situation report stated that Firestone was preparing to re-open the plantation and rehire the 8,500 pre-war employees upon Charles' Taylor's agreement.

DOS-466: *December 16, 1991; To: Washington, D.C.; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Liberia Situation as of 1700 Hours, Dec. 16, 1991; Cable # 08923.*

- Situation report stated that five high-level Firestone officials were being held in a Firestone guesthouse due to internal, unknown conflicts regarding NPFL's approval of Firestone re-opening the plantation.

DOS-468: *October 1, 1991; To: US Embassy in Monrovia; From: Washington, D.C.; Subject: Firestone Building Bridges to NPFL; Cable # 325500.*

- Situation report stated that Firestone director John Vispo and two Liberian co-workers were briefly detained by NPFL. It also noted that a Firestone executive had received assurances from NPFL commander Isaac Musa that taking the "Harbel Tapper" boat from Monrovia to Buchanan would be safe and that Vispo had received passes from NPFL to travel safely and was optimistic about having a good relationship between NPFL and Firestone.

DOS-469: *Issued January 28, 1992; To: Washington, DC; From: Conakry Embassy; Subject: El Haji Kromah Expresses Disappointment on Slow Progress of Yama IV; Cable # 00512.*

- A Memorandum of Understanding was signed between the NPFL and Firestone that allowed the resumption of essential operations at the Firestone plantation in Harbel. El Haji Kromah stated that he was troubled by this because it would provide finances to the NPFL and undermine the peace process.

DOS-471: *Issued January 22, 1992; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Liberia Situation Report as of 1700 Hours Jan. 22, 1992; Cable # 00445.*

- Report discusses the terms of the Memorandum of Understanding between the NPFL and Firestone, signed January 17, 1992. One of the terms included NPFL protection of the Plantation.

DOS-478: *Issued July 13, 1992; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Trip Report: Visit to Firestone Plantation; Cable # 04111.*

- US Embassy officials toured the Firestone plantation in Harbel. General Domino, who assisted in giving the tour, mentioned there were 300 NPFL troops assigned to the plantation, but another 1,000 NPFL troops were living on the site.

DOS-483: *Issued March 24, 1993; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Sitrep as of 1700 Hours, 16 Mar. 93; Cable # 01379.*

- On a visit to the Firestone plantation, Interim Government President Amos Sawyer accused Firestone of indirectly helping the NPFL buy military weapons. Sawyer also stated that the Plantation was used as the command center from which the NPFL launched its surprise attack on Monrovia in October 1992.

DOS-485: *Issued March 23, 1993; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Official - Informal; Cable # 01518.*

- Cable reproduces two editorials from Liberian newspapers that discuss Firestone's complicity with the NPFL.

HRA 28: Operation Octopus. Operation Octopus was the codename of the NPFL assault on Monrovia in October 1992. ECOWAS established a monitoring group, ECOMOG. ECOMOG forces responded to the assault by bombing NPFL positions in Northern Monrovia.

DOS-123: *Issued October 22, 1992; To: All African Diplomatic Posts; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Press Guidance; Cable # 346397.*

- US State Dept Official reported that fighting between ECOMOG and Taylor's NPFL had abated in the last few days. Some artillery rounds had hit inside Monrovia but landed without damage.

DOS-124: *Issued October 22, 1992; To: All African Diplomatic Posts; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Press Guidance; Cable # 344912.*

- US State Dept Official reported that ECOMOG was protecting Monrovia from the NPFL, which was controlled by Charles Taylor. Small arms fire was heard overnight outside Monrovia.

DOS-125: *Issued October 22, 1992; To: All Embassies; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Liberia Evacuation Working Group Situation Report No. 1; Cable # 344846.*

- ECOMOG fired on Caldwell Base located on the outskirts of Monrovia, which was occupied by the NPFL. Since the fighting began, known casualties included twelve Nigerian and four Senegalese peacekeepers. The United States ordered the departure of all non-essential personnel from Monrovia.

DOS-127: *Issued October 23, 1992; To: All Embassies; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Liberia Evacuation Working Group Situation Report No. 2; Cable # 346634.*

- ECOMOG continued to shell the Caldwell Base. The INPFL collapsed, and its former leader, Prince Johnson, was in the custody of ECOMOG.

DOS-128: *Issued October 24, 1992; To: All African Diplomatic Posts; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Press Guidance; Cable # 348155.*

- Cable confirmed that ECOMOG planes bombed NPFL headquarters in Gbarnga. It was unknown how many casualties resulted from the air attack.

DOS-138: *Issued November 3, 1992; To: All Embassies; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Liberia Evacuation Working Group Situation Report No. 12; Cable # 358785.*

- Report confirmed NPFL mortar rounds landed near Spriggs Payne Airport early that morning, which caused civilian casualties. In a radio broadcast, Charles Taylor accused US officials of conspiring with a Senegalese Chief of Staff to assassinate him.

DOS-139: *Issued November 3, 1992; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Special Sitrep No. 52; Cable # 06551.*

- Reported that ECOMOG air strikes hit the Harbel Firestone Plantation area on November 2. NPFL radio reported several deaths and over 200 injured.

DOS-142: Issued November 5, 1992; To: All Embassies; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Daily Press Briefing; Cable # 362326.

- Statement from US Department of State that strongly criticizes Burkina Faso for giving military support to Taylor's NPFL. The US contributed part of the deteriorating situation in Liberia since October 15, 1992 to Burkina Faso.

DOS-143: Issued November 5, 1992; To: All Embassies; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Press Guidance; Cable # 361319.

- Reported that 150 NPFL fighters, who infiltrated Monrovia, surrendered to ECOMOG forces on October 30, 1992. Charles Taylor rejected calls for a cease-fire and vowed to defeat those who oppose him.

DOS-156: Issued November 20, 1992; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Liberia: Human Rights Take a Back Seat; Cable # 377289.

- Report outlines human rights violations that were in the US Department of State annual human rights report. Most of the atrocities were blamed on the NPFL, but the report also accuses the AFL and ULIMO of abuses.

DOS-601: Issued June 25, 1993; From: Washington, D.C.; To: Cotonou Embassy; Subject: USG Response on Harbel Massacre in Liberia; Cable # 194027.

- United States Government states that it is strongly corroborated that Charles Taylor's NPFL was behind the Harbel Massacre and the US also believes that Charles Taylor has ordered a policy of deliberate attack on exposed citizens in Lofa County. Despite the US government's strong belief that Charles Taylor and the NPFL committed the act, the US is waiting for a conclusive investigation to publicly announce those responsible.

HRA 29: October 23, 1992 slaying of five Catholic nuns in Gardnersville, Montserratado County. Christopher Varmo and Edward Wowah carried out the operation.

DOS-129: Issued October 30, 1992; To: All African Diplomatic Posts; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Press Guidance; Cable # 354418.

- US Dept Official confirmed that the US is concerned for five US-citizen Franciscan nuns of the "Precious Blood" Order living in Gardnersville because of the fighting there between ECOMOG and NPFL. At the time, NPFL guaranteed safe passage of US citizens that passed through their territory.

DOS-130: Issued October 31, 1992; To: US Embassy in Monrovia; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Department Statement on Death of Nuns; Cable # 357530.

- Public statement by US State Department that condemned the murder of the five US-citizen nuns. The nuns were killed several days before the statement was issued. The nuns were found in Gardnersville, territory controlled by the NPFL. The US stated that the safety of its citizens in this area was the responsibility of the NPFL, but did not place direct blame.

DOS-131: *Issued October 31, 1992; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: AMCIT Nuns Reported Killed; Cable # 06491.*

- Church officials confirmed the death of the five US-citizen nuns. Three nuns were killed in the mission on October 22 or 23. The other two nuns were killed along the road in Garnersville one or two days later.

DOS-133: *Issued November 1, 1992; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Special Sitrep No. 49; Cable # 06505.*

- Report mainly discusses the media blitz that Charles Taylor and other NPFL officials partook in. They publicly denied harming the US-citizen nuns and alleged the Catholic Mission area was not under NPFL control.

DOS-134: *Issued November 2, 1992; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Requiem Mass for Slain American Nuns; Cable # 06533.*

- Document summarizes mass given by Archbishop Michael Francis in honor of the five slain US-citizen nuns. He placed full responsibility for their deaths on the NPFL.

DOS-138: *Issued November 1, 1992; To: All African Diplomatic Posts; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Press Guidance; Cable # 358948.*

- Press Guidance sent to confirm the death of five US-citizen nuns from the Precious Blood Order based outside of Monrovia.

DOS-140: *Issued: November 1, 1992; To: US Embassy in Monrovia; From Washington, DC; Subject: Death of American Nuns; Cable # 358693.*

- Message relayed from Sister Gross to Archbishop Francis concerning the death of the five US-citizen nuns and to request an impartial trial. Sister Gross confirmed in the message that in addition to the five nuns dead, three aspirants were also dead from the attack.

DOS-147: *Issued November 9, 1992; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Special Sitrep No. 63; Cable # 06683.*

- A young boy told a US Embassy Official about witnessing atrocities as a NPFL soldier. The boy said he witnessed the murder of two elderly women, who were believed to be the US-citizen nuns, in the vicinity of the Paynesville "red light" area.

DOS-149: *Issued November 9, 1992; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Slain Amcit Nuns: Alleged Eyewitness Account; Cable # 06677.*

- The young boy, a Gio or Basso, gave a specific account of the murders of two white women believed to be the US-citizen nuns.

DOS-151: *Issued November 10, 1992; To: US Embassy in Monrovia; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Church Press Release on Events Surrounding Deaths of American Citizen Nuns in Liberia; Cable # 365887.*

- Sister Mildred Gross, who belonged to the same Order as the slain nuns, issued a press release that repeated eyewitness accounts of the murders of the five nuns. According to the eyewitnesses all of the nuns were killed by NPFL soldiers.

DOS-160: *Issued November 30, 1992; To: All African Diplomatic Posts; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Press Guidance; Cable # 386704.*

- This report confirms that the bodies of three of nuns have been recovered. It solely blamed the NPFL for their murders.

HRA 30: The massacre (the Harbel Massacre) of 600 displaced persons at the Harbel Camp in the Firestone plantation on June 6, 1993. An inquiry by the UN Secretary-General concluded that the AFL was responsible, but other observers blamed the NPFL. The victims are said to be buried on the outskirts of the camp.

DOS-352: *Issued January 31, 1994; From: US Department of State; Subject: 1993 Human Rights Report: Liberia.*

- Liberia Human Rights Report blamed the AFL for the massacre at the Firestone Plantation. Most of the victims were women and children. AFL soldiers were later caught with property looted from the site.

DOS-593: *Issued March 1994; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; To: Washington, D.C.; Subject: Liberia: January-March Human Rights Update; Cable # 001495.*

- Human Rights update states that there are still human rights violations occurring, despite the slow implementation of the Cotonou Accord. The Report states that due to most of the attention being focused on the turnover of power to the LTNG, Liberia has placed an even lower priority on resolving the Harbel Massacre.

DOS-599: *June 1993; To: US Embassy in Monrovia; From: US Mission, UN New York; Subject: SC Statement on Liberia; Cable # 002812.*

- Statement issued by the Security Council addressed the controversy over whether or not NPFL was responsible for the June 6 massacre of Liberian civilians near the Harbel camp. The Security Council stated that it was shocked and saddened by the senseless killings and urged the Security General to make a thorough investigation to hold those responsible for the massacre accountable.

DOS-601: *Issued June 25, 1993; From: Washington, D.C.; To: Cotonou Embassy; Subject: USG Response on Harbel Massacre in Liberia; Cable # 194027.*

- United States Government states that it is strongly corroborated that Charles Taylor's NPFL was behind the Harbel Massacre and the US also believes that Charles Taylor has ordered a policy of deliberate attack on exposed citizens in Lofa County. Despite the US government's strong belief that Charles Taylor and the NPFL committed the act, the US is waiting for a conclusive investigation to publicly announce those responsible.

DOS-670: *Issued October 22, 1993; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Ambassador Admonishes Liberian Armed Forces Chief on Cotonou Accord, the LPC and Human Rights; Cable # 05486.*

- US Ambassador urged AFL Chief-of-Staff Bowen to clean up AFL's deplorable human rights record and negative public image by taking action against AFL members implicated in the Harbel massacre. So far the AFL has shown no credible effort to discipline its members. US Ambassador urged action against unit commander Major Nelson Paye and others named by the UN Investigation Panel in September.

HRA 31: The Cotonou Accord of July 25, 1993. The Accord provided for a ceasefire among the NPFL, the AFL, and ULIMO and established a transitional government.

DOS-227: *Issued September 26, 1994; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: 1994 Country Human Rights Report for Liberia; Cable # 004443.*

- The 1994 Human Rights Report for Liberia commented on the failure of the Cotonou Accord. It stated that the Liberian Transitional National Government (LTNG), mandated by the peace accord, was administered by the ECOMOG. The three signing groups to the peace agreement had mushroomed into six political-military groups with Charles Taylor's NPFL held central counties in Liberia, ULIMO split into two groups, the AFL controlled areas near the Firestone Plantation, and the LPC and LDF also emerged in 1993.

DOS-338: *Issued July 28, 1993; To: US Embassy in Monrovia; From: US Mission to UN; Subject: Liberia: Gharekhan Briefs Council on Cotonou Accords; Cable # 003651.*

- UN Under-Secretary General Gharekhan briefed the UN Security Council on the content of the Cotonou Accord. The Security Council was briefed to both the military and political aspects of the agreement.

DOS-339: *Issued December 30, 1993; To: US Embassy in Monrovia; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Liberia: Pressing the Factions Forward; Cable # 338052.*

- US Department of State cable stressed that the factions in Liberia work to resolve their differences. There was concern that those not supportive of the Cotonou Accord would derail efforts at peace. Of particular concern was fighting among ULIMO in Lofa County.

DOS-340: *Issued October 29, 1993; To: Washington, DC; From: Accra Embassy; Subject: AF/W Director Chaveas's Discussions on Liberia; Cable # 09438.*

- US Department of State official Chaveas met with Kojo Tsikata, the advisor on foreign affairs to the President of Ghana. Tsikata expressed concern that the Cotonou Accord would not be implemented and called on the US to help get troops on the ground in Liberia as soon as possible to begin demobilization.

DOS-341: *Issued September 13, 1993; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Sitrep as of 1700 Hours 13 September 93; Cable # 04704.*

- The Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee (JCMC) was preparing to send out teams in Lofa, Nimba, and Grand Gedah Counties. NPFL Representative JT Richardson said it would be hard to implement the military provision of the Accord because NPFL hardliners still had a lot of control in Gbarnga.

DOS-342: *Issued August 30, 1993; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Sitrep as of 1700 Hours 30 Aug. 93; Cable # 04450.*

- Key actors had agreed to install the Liberian Transitional Government by mid- to late September. UN Special Representative Gordon-Somers was planning to visit the three faction leaders early in September. ULIMO was cited with the first ceasefire violation by detaining a relief vehicle on August 21, 1993.

DOS-343: *Issued July 27, 1993; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Sawyer Calls Cotonou a Gift of Peace; Cable # 03788.*

- In his first address after the Accord was signed, Amos Sawyer gave a speech highlighting the positive aspects of the agreement. Among other things, Sawyer stated the UN was going to form a commission to investigate humanitarian law violations during the civil conflict.

DOS-346: *Issued August 2, 1993; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Sitrep as of 1700 Hours 02 Aug. 93; Cable # 03894.*

- Situation report stating that as of the second day of the Cotonou Accord peace remained throughout the streets. The Report stated that both IGNU and ULIMO had provided the names of their representatives for the transitional executive council.

DOS-347: *Issued July 26, 1993; To: Washington, DC; From: Cotonou Embassy; Subject: Text of Final Communiqué of ECOWAS Summit; Cable # 02571.*

- The text of the final communiqué of ECOWAS summit included the situation in Liberia noting that all member states deplored the current upheaval in Liberia. Furthermore, the summit communiqué urged all party members to cooperate fully in the Cotonou accord and stated that the authority resolved to appeal to the United Nations to set up a fund to help finance the Cotonou accord.

DOS-350: *Issued October 23, 1993; To: All African Diplomatic Posts; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Africa Bureau Friday Report - 10/22/93; Cable # 324717.*

- Report mentioned that the Krahn militant group, Liberian Peace Council (LPC), which was putting the ceasefire at risk in southeastern Liberia by attacking NPFL soldiers. The LPC was formed by Doe advisor George Boley, who recruited Krahn AFL to join.

DOS-352: *Issued January 31, 1994; From: US Department of State; Subject: 1993 Human Rights Report: Liberia.*

- 1993 Liberia Human Rights Report mentions the July 25, 1993 peace accord between IGNU, NPFL, and ULIMO calling for a demobilization of warring factions, unified national transnational government, and free elections. The report also discussed the problems implementing the accord, primarily the factional differences and the delays in the arrival of additional peacekeepers needed to carry out the disarmament.

DOS-601: *Issued January 31, 1994; From: US Department of State; Subject: 1993 Human Rights Report: Liberia.*

- The Chief of Mission in Liberia sent a memorandum to the inspector general concerning the inspection of Foreign Service post in Liberia. The memorandum mentioned the bright possibility of the future due to the Cotonou Accord and said that the United States has contributed over 260 million dollars to emergency humanitarian assistance to victims of the Liberian conflict and about 30 million dollars to ECOWAS/ECOMOG peacekeeping efforts.

DOS-604: *Issued August 6, 1993; To: Nairobi and Paris Embassy; From: Washington, D.C.; Subject: Points on Liberia for Houdek Meetings in Paris; Cable # 238811.*

- Summary of points to be used by Ambassador Houdek in his meeting with France concerning the situation in Liberia. The message pointed to the importance of France using its influence with Africa's Francophone countries to stem the flow of arms into Taylor-held regions in Liberia in an attempt to prevent Charles Taylor from spoiling the Cotonou peace agreements.

DOS-670: *Issued October 22, 1993; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Ambassador Admonishes Liberian Armed Forces Chief on Cotonou Accord, the LPC and Human Rights; Cable # 05486.*

- Ambassador strongly admonished AFL Chief of Staff Bowen to respect the Cotonou Accord by following the disarmament agreement and to clean up its human rights practices. The Ambassador also urged Bowen to take decisive action against those implicated in the Harbel Massacre.

HRA 32: 1993 murder of six Senegalese ECOMOG soldiers by Oliver Varnie, Timothy Mulbah, and Joe Doe in Valhun on orders from Charles Taylor and his then Defense Minister J. Thomas Wuworyu. Media reports stated their bodies were dumped in a valley in Vahun and NPFL authorities refused to turn the bodies over to ECOMOG High Command. It was based on persistent international pressure that the bodies of the six Senegalese were turned over to the ECOMOG High Command.

DOS-598: *Issued September 7, 1993; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; To: Washington, D.C.; Subject: Memorandum Concerning Inspection of Foreign Service Post In Monrovia; Cable # 04576.*

- Memorandum mentioned that the US Embassy has tried to maintain contact with all factions of the conflict in Liberia. As an example, the memorandum states that the US Embassy provided communications between peacekeepers

and Charles Taylor during the conflict between NPFL and Senegalese elements of ECOMOG. The communication led to the agreement for both sides to stand down to allow the evacuation of the dead and wounded Senegalese.

HRA 33: The division of ULIMO into ULIMO-J and ULIMO-K in April 1994.
ULIMO-J was led by Roosevelt Johnson and represented Krahn interests, while ULIMO-K was led by Al-Haji Kromah and represented Mandingo interests.

DOS-227: *Issued September 26, 1994; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: 1994 Country Human Rights Report for Liberia; Cable # 004443.*

- This country report mentioned the split along ethnic lines within the ULIMO party. However, both factions still cooperated with each other when fighting against Charles Taylor's NPFL. The report estimated that 200,000 Liberians had been killed or wounded since fighting began in 1989 and that over 700,000 had taken refuge in neighboring countries.

DOS-228: *Issued July 11, 1994; To: Washington, DC, Freetown Embassy, Accra Embassy, Lagos Embassy, Abidjan Embassy; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Liberia: Taylor - Trying to Hold Ground; Cable # 003200.*

- Worried about his political vulnerability, Taylor tried to get the support ULIMO-K. Taylor backed Al-Haji Kromah because he did not want his faction to form an alliance with the AFL.

DOS-229: *Issued July 5, 1994; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Liberian Peace Process Sitrep: Archbishop Tutu Visits, Intra-ULIMO Deadlock Persists; Cable # 003101.*

- Archbishop Desmond Tutu visited Liberia for three days in order to bring some relief to the fighting of the Krahn faction of ULIMO. The Krahn faction was demanding more power within the Liberian National Transitional Government.

DOS-230: *Issued January 30, 1995; To: US Embassy in Monrovia; From: Washington, DC; Subject: V-4 Human Rights Report for Liberia; Cable # 023986.*

- The 1994 Liberia Report mentioned that the Cotonou accord had not worked and that the three signing groups (ULIMO, AFL, and NPFL) had mushroomed into seven factions. The report also referred to ULIMO-K as one of the main groups practicing conscriptions of children under the age of 18.

DOS-237: *Issued April 1, 1994; To: All Embassies; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Press Guidance; Cable # 085818.*

- Violence, including summary executions and looting, between the ethnic Krahns and Mandingos had led to fears that the peace process was falling apart. This report also gives details on renewed fighting by the NPFL and the Liberian Peace Council (LPC).

DOS-239: *Issued June 26-27, 1994; To: White House; From: Human Rights Watch; Subject: Human Rights in Africa and US Policy.*

- Human Rights Watch report detailed the numerous warring factions in Liberia and specific abuses committed by the groups. The inter-ULIMO fighting in Western Liberia, primarily in Bomi and Cape Mount Counties, had claimed the lives of hundreds of civilians since it began in March 1994.

HRA 34: September 1994 massacre of over 100 persons who were hospitalized and/or seeking shelter at the Phebe Hospital. Those killed were fleeing fighting between ULIMO-K and NPFL.

DOS-230: *Issued January 30, 1995; To: US Embassy in Monrovia; From: Washington, DC; Subject: V-4 Human Rights Report for Liberia; Cable # 023986.*

- The murder of civilians at Phebe Hospital is mentioned in final human rights report by the US Government; however, it reports that the massacre occurred in August. The massacre was carried out by Mandingo ULIMO fighters, who also looted the hospital.

DOS-243: *Issued: January 25, 1995; To: Washington, DC; From: Medecins Sans Frontieres; Subject: Horror and Slavery in Liberia, Report on Human Rights Violations in Liberia.*

- Report documenting witness testimony on the ethnic cleansing that occurred in September at Phebe Hospital

DOS-595: *Issued: October 4, 1994; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Liberia Peace Process Sitrep (10/04/94): National Conference Ends; AFL Command Changes; Cable #04615.*

- Reports that a UNOMIL flyover of Gbarnga on October 3, 1994 revealed no sign of a massacre in either the city, Phebe hospital, or at the UN compound as had been feared. Several people, including hospital personnel, however had been reportedly killed on September 28th at Phebe hospital outside of Gbarnga.

HRA 35: December 15, 1994 massacre of 48 civilians at Cow Field, Dupont Road, Montserrat County. The civilians were murdered and burned by Paul Vaye, Sam Lartee and other soldiers from the NPFL while they were asleep in their homes. Reported by the NEWS Newspaper, December 19, 1994, Vol. 5 # 151.

DOS-230: *Issued January 30, 1995; To: US Embassy in Monrovia; From: Washington, DC; Subject: V-4 Human Rights Report for Liberia; Cable # 023986.*

- Reported that over 65 civilians were massacred by inconclusively-identified attackers. Also mentions an incident of fighters of unknown affiliation attacking the Paynesville suburb, shooting, hacking, and burning 66 civilians to death.

DOS-243: *Issued January 25, 1995; From: Medecins Sans Frontieres; Subject: Horror and Slavery in Liberia: Report on Human Rights Violations in Liberia.*

- Report gives a detailed account of the massacre on Dupont Road. It states that there were 67 victims from the attack, including six children under one year old. The massacre occurred between 4:00-7:00am, and most victims burned to death. Many of the victims had evidence of blunt and sharp injuries.
- Between 30-40 people from the AFL-Krahns linked to Charles Julu committed the acts, according to this report.

HRA 39: April 18, 1996 murder of twelve persons in Zuanna Town and Bloun Town, Bomi County. A group of fighters stormed the area and burned down the displacement camp and Karmo Town. Reported by The NEWS Newspaper, December 11, 1996, Vol. 7 # 47.

DOS-302: Issued November 8, 1996; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Official Informal; Cable # 04493.

- The cable reports that in April the Mandingo AFL Chief-of-Staff Mohammed Doumouyah was ritualistically tortured, mutilated, murdered, dismembered, and cannibalized by Krahn fighters in front of hostages at the AFL Barclay training center in Monrovia. A majority of civilian deaths took place during raids on villages in the countryside.

HRA 40: September 28, 1996 massacre of about seventeen citizens in Sinje, Grand Cape Mount County. According to a UN press release issued by the Special Representative of the Secretary General Amb. Anthony B. Nyakyi. Reported by the Inquirer Newspaper, Vol. 5 #75; Daily News Vol. 5 # 62; and The NEWS Newspaper, Vol. 7 #17.

DOS-302: Issued November 8, 1996; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Official Informal; Cable # 04493.

- This cable reports that Ulimo-Mandingo and Ulimo-Krahn fighters executed civilians and looted and burned their villages in Grand Cape Mount and Bomi counties for religious and ethnic reasons. The cable estimates the casualties at over 20 people and describes the event as typical of the factions' violations of humanitarian law. An exhumation of the bodies revealed a baby girl whose skull had been bashed in while she was still strapped to her mother's back. Injuries include an eight-month-old girl whose foot was hacked off. Investigation has yet to determine if which ULIMO sub-faction was responsible.

DOS-305: Issued January 20, 1997; To: US Embassy in Monrovia; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Official Informal: Final Liberia HRR; Cable # 017259.

- US State Department Annual Human Rights Report mentioned murder of over 20 civilians in Sinje, Grand Cape Mount County. The majority of the civilian deaths in the countryside were carried out by ULIMO-Mandingo or ULIMO-Krahn fighters, who also looted and burned villages.

DOS-306: Issued November 13, 1996; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Official - Informal; Cable # 004595.

- Special Presidential Envoy for Liberia Ambassador Howard F. Jeter and Com. William Milem met with ULIMO-Mandingo leader Al-Haji Kromah. Kromah denied his fighters involvement in the massacre at Sinje. He blamed Zhekey and Charles Taylor of masterminding the massacre because Taylor did not want any competition for the presidency.

HRA 41: The murder of Samuel Dokie on November 28, 1997. Dokie, a former ally of Taylor, was allegedly murdered by Taylor forces after defecting to found the Central Revolutionary Council (CRC). Dokie was arrested with his family at a checkpoint in Gbarnga. The Special Security Services (SSS) allegedly ordered the arrest.

DOS- 267: *Issued April 19, 2001; To: Washington, D.C.; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: New Deal of Liberian Political Scene; Cable # 01017.*

- Report discussed meeting with "New Dealers" Nagbe Weaplah, New Deal Movement National Acting Chairman, and Education Director Abraham Mitchell. At the meeting, the New Dealers stated that Francois Massaquoi had probably been murdered by Charles Taylor's forces as had happened with Samuel Dokie.

HRA 45: The attack on Roosevelt Johnson on September 18, 1998 on Camp Johnson Road. The attack claimed the lives of between 53 and 100 people. Johnson and others fled to the US Embassy for protection and were later evacuated to Nigeria and Sierra Leone.

DOS-218: *Issued November 5, 1998; To: Embassy Doha & Embassy Muscat; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Huddleston-Captan Meeting; Liberia Wants Good Relations with US; Cable # 003831.*

- Liberian Foreign Minister Monie Captan expressed regret over an incident at the US Embassy gate on September 19, 1998. Captan also stated that President Taylor wanted ECOMOG to remain in Liberia, and he denied any Liberian involvement in the war in Sierra Leone or efforts to break the UN arms embargo.

DOS-221: *Issued December 8, 1998; To: US Department of State; From: US Representative Cynthia McKinney.*

- Letter from a US Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs describing the events that took place at the US Embassy after Roosevelt Johnson and his supporters fled there and then were attacked outside the Embassy by government soldiers.

DOS-222: *Issued November 18, 1998; To: Washington, DC & US Embassy in Monrovia; From: Lagos Embassy; Subject: Ambassador Twaddell Meets with Krahn in Jos; Cable # 012188.*

- US Ambassador William Twaddell met with Roosevelt Johnson while he stayed in Jos, Nigeria. Johnson voiced his concern that President Taylor was carrying out ethnic cleansing of the Krahn ethnic group since the attack on September 18, 1998.

DOS-223: *Issued October 20, 1998; To: US Embassy in Monrovia; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Liberia: Donors Postpone Multi-Donor Mission until Embassy, Other Human Rights Abuses Investigated; Cable # 193726.*

- Discussion at meeting of World Bank donors to have an international investigation into the events of September, including the accusations of ethnic cleansing and Liberian Government involvement in Sierra Leone.

DOS-225: *Issued September 19, 1998; To: All African Diplomatic Posts; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Africa Bureau Report Friday 18 Sept 1998; Cable # 173562.*

- Earlier in the week President Taylor ordered ECOMOG Commander Shelpidi to draw down the protective detail from Camp Johnson Road for Roosevelt Johnson. Gunfire broke out later in the week, and Shelpidi withdraw his force.

HRA 57: The attacks by the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) on Guinea in September 2000. The RUF was accompanied by Liberian fighters and Guinean dissidents including General Zoumanigui. The RUF eventually captured Guéckédou and Macenta.

DOS-264: *Issued October 3, 2000; To: Washington, DC; From: Conakry Embassy; Subject: More Coordinated Attacks against Guinea; Cable # 005450.*

- Two coordinated pre-dawn attacks on the border of Guinea took place September 30, 2000. One attack was near Macenta. The other attack occurred south of Forecariah. Heavy civilian casualties were reported.

DOS-265: *Issued October 4, 2000; To: Washington, DC; From: Conakry Embassy; Subject: Relocating Refugees at Risk in Guinea; Cable # 005465.*

- Request for help in protecting close to 500,000 refugees in Guinea. Guinean troops continued to fight RUF and Liberian forces, and this created fears that refugees could be abused by Guineans

DIA-3: *Issued October 3, 2000; To: Washington, D.C.; From: Classified; Subject: Liberian Attacks into Manceta Border Area on 27 September; Cable #031353Z.*

- DIA Information Report reports seven Guinean villages attacked by Liberian forces on September 27, 2000. Major Magsuba (Sede) of the Guinean Army reported that AFL is responsible for the attacks. It was also reported that 60 civilians were killed in the attacks.

HRA 58: The summary execution of fourteen persons in Kornia, Lofa County in March 2001 on the orders of Momo Jibba. Jibba ordered the executions after the GOL recaptured the town from the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD). He also planned and executed the death of Francois Massaquoi, the Youth and Sports Minister at the time.

DOS-244: *Issued March 4, 2002; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Final Version of Liberia Human Rights Report; Cable # 041395.*

- The Liberia Human Rights Report includes the April 2000 killing of Youth and Sports Minister Francois Massaquoi in Lofa County by, what the reports names, armed dissidents.

DOS-257: *Issued April 17, 2001; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Liberia: GOL Youth/ Sport Minister Killed in Lofa County; Cable # 000962.*

- Report of the death of Francois Massaquoi when his helicopter was hit by small arms fire in Lofa County while delivering humanitarian aid. The GOL blamed rebels in the area. The US Embassy reported that President Taylor may have ordered the Minister killed because he fought against Taylor's NPFL during the civil war in Lofa County.

DOS-267: *Issued April 19, 2001; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: New Deal on Liberian Political Scene; Cable # 001017.*

- New Deal Movement Chairman Nagbe Weaplah and Education Director Abraham Mitchell discussed the theory that President Taylor ordered the killing of Minister Massaquoi because he has a history of getting rid of political opponents. They also stated that GOL security forces contain RUF personnel.

DOS-268: *Issued April 25, 2001; To: Kampala Embassy; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Official Informal; Cable # 073042.*

- GOL stated that Minister Massaquoi was killed by Guinean-backed rebels while he was delivering humanitarian aid in Voinjama.

HRA 59: The massacre of seven Mandingo individuals by Daniel Gweh and Tony Gonyor in May 2001 in Saclepea, Nimba County.

DOS-262: *Issued March 4, 2002; To: US Embassy in Monrovia; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Liberia: Final Version of Liberian Human Rights Report; Cable # 041395.*

- Report referenced several different attacks and beating of ethnic Mandingo in Lofa County. No references were made of the attack in Nimba County.

HRA 65: The abuses against Kissi civilians in 2003 by LURD members.

DOS-1: *Issued July 25, 2003; To: Washington, D.C.; From: American Embassy in Brussels; Subject: Halting Rebel Attacks in Liberia.*

- Telegram sent to US Embassy in Brussels, Conkary, and Anjul regarding Ambassador Bridgewater's trip to Brussels where the goal is to express the need to exert pressure on Guinea and LURD to cease rebel attacks in Liberia. The telegram also contains a message that is supposed to be delivered to Ambassador Bridgewater and the Embassy Conkary which states that she is to tell Sekou Conneh and the Government of Guinea that the offensive must cease, or else LURD and Guinea will be held responsible for the attacks.

DOS-249: *Issued: May 13, 2002; To: All African Diplomatic Posts; From: Washington, DC; Subject: INR Analysis for May 6-12, 2002; Cable # 091190.*

- The informational report describes the ethnic conflict and tensions in Liberia. It states that LURD, while claiming to be ethnically diverse, contains mainly ethnic-Krahn and Mandingo. Furthermore, LURD had been reported to have committed particularly severe abuses against ethnic Kissi because Sierra Leone's RUF, supported by Liberian government, had maintained a stronghold in an ethnic-Kissi area in Sierra Leone.

HRA 67: The murder of John Yormie and Isaac Vaye on the orders of Benjamin Yeaten on June 4, 2003 in Paynesville, Montserrado County. Yormie, the Deputy Minister for National Security, and Vaye, the Deputy Minister for Public Works, were arrested by a group of armed men acting under the command of one "Banana" of the SSS who was acting on the orders of Benjamin Yeaten. They were brought to Monrovia and interrogated before they were killed. Their bodies were dumped on the train tracks but have not been found.

DOS-572: *Issued June 19, 2003; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Government Officials Missing since Coup Plot Announcement; Cable # 000715.*

- This cable confirms that John Yormie, Isaac Vaye, and Peterson Marbiah had all been picked up by the Liberian Special Security Services under the order of Benjamin Yeaten. The cable states that it is suspected throughout Liberia that Taylor concocted the Coup attempt in order to purge the cabinet of members he thought were not loyal to him.

HRA 74: The summary execution of 26 persons in Klay by General Abbas of LURD in July 2003. The victims were arrested on Bushrod Island as POWs.

DOS-2: *Issued: July 27, 2003; To: All African Diplomatic and Consular Posts; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Situation Report No. 016 As Of 1530 EDT July 27, 2003; Cable # 216685.*

- Situation report as of July 27, 2003 states that 30 LURD had taken control of key bridge. Ambassador Blaney stated that LURD may be pushed back, but that it had not occurred yet. He also called for a ceasefire in a press release.

DOS-3: *Issued July 28, 2003; From: Washington, DC; To: US Embassies; Subject: Africa Press Guidance - Liberia: Situation Update; Cable # 217489.*

- Document condemns the actions of LURD and MODEL for continuing the violence in and around Monrovia. Mentions the on-going fighting between the Liberian Government and LURD on Bushrod Island and attempts by LURD to block the main road out of Liberia in order to prevent President Taylor from fleeing. At this time, the US Department of State reported that LURD had not entered Monrovia but was using mortar fire targeted at the Presidential Mansion.

DOS-4: *Issued: July 28, 2003; To: All African Diplomatic and Consular Posts; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Africa Press Guidance, July 29, 2003; Cable # 217489.*

- Situation update condemns the continued fighting between LURD and Liberian Government on Bushrod Island. Fighting in Buchanan was also reported to continue between MODEL and Liberian Government. The report also urged the rebels and the Liberian Government to accept the “Po” River cease-fire proposal.

DOS-7: *Issued: August 1, 2003; To: Washington D.C.; From: Conkary Embassy; Subject: Assistant Secretary Meeting with FM Fall, PM Sidibe; Cable # 001162.*

- Cable reports of discussion between Foreign Minister Francois Fall and Assistant Secretary Walter Kansteiner and mentioned Kansteiner’s hopes for Liberia. It stated that in order for Taylor to leave Liberia and the humanitarian situation to be stabilized, LURD must first withdraw to the Po River.

United States Government Presence in Liberia

USG 1: Operation Sharp Edge. Elements of a Marine Expeditionary Unit embarked in the USS Saipan amphibious ready group provided support to the US Embassy and stood by to evacuate American citizens and others from June 2 to August 5, 1990. The Marines evacuated a total of 2,609 people between August 5, 1990 and January 9, 1991, which was one of the longest running non-combatant evacuation operations in recent naval history, ended when the amphibious transport dock USS Nashville, Helicopter Combat Support Squadron FOUR, and elements of the 26th Marine Expeditionary Unit departed the Liberian coastal area known during the operation as “Mamba Station.”

DOS-102: *Issued January 8, 1991; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Close Out of MARG/JTF Evacuations from Liberia; Cable # 00173.*

DOS-105: *Issued August 6, 1990; To: All African Diplomatic Posts; From: Washington, DC; Subject: Press Guidance; Cable # 258581.*

MAR-4: *Subject: Command Chronology for 1 July- 31 December 1990.*

- Document describes the US Marine involvement in Operation Sharp Edge, in which the Marines provided intelligence support and evacuation of American Citizens and Foreign Nationals.

MAR-6: *Issued July 19, 1990; To: Commanding Officer, Battalion Landing Team 2/4, Camp Lejeune, NC; From: Commanding Officer, 22d Marine Expeditionary Unit, Camp Lejeune, NC; Subject: Command Chronology for 1 January- 30 June 1990.*

USG 3: Operation Assured Response. During the first week of April 1996, about 500 people sought refuge on US Embassy grounds and another 20,000 in a nearby American housing area. Between April 9 and June 18, 1996, a US Joint Task Force Operation Assured Response evacuated 2,444 people. The bulk of the forces were from Special Operation Command Europe. The Operation was led by Major General Walter E. Gaskin of the 22nd Marine Expeditionary Unit.

MAR-2: *Issued August 2, 1996; To: Commandant of the Marine Corps, Washington, DC; From: Commanding Officer, Camp Lejeune, NC; Subject: Command Chronology for 1 January 1996 – 30 June 1996.*

- Document describes the US Marine involvement while defending the US Embassy in April 1996. On April 30, 1996, Marines securing the US Embassy returned fire for the first time. They fired upon and killed both NPFL soldier and Krahn fighters that were attacking the US Embassy.

USG 5: Operation Shining Express. At the direction of the Secretary of Defense, in June 2003, the US European Command sent military support to the region to provide the Ambassador an enhanced capability to monitor the situation in Liberia and to be pre-positioned to aid any evacuation of US citizens. Operation Shining Express included special operations forces, Army, Navy and Marine Corps and Reserve components.

AIR-2: *2003 Monthly Activity Report (Operation Shining Express Only)*

- Document described Operation Shining Express, which included special operating forces, Navy, Air Force, Army, and Marine Corps to augment security forces to help with the evacuation of American Citizens. On July 7, 2003, two US helicopters brought a 32-man military civil affairs team to assess the conditions in Monrovia for deployment of Peacekeepers to Liberia.

AIR-3: *Issued June 14, 2003; Title: Troops Boost Security At African Hot Spots; By: Scott Schonauer, The Stars and Stripes.*

- Article describes US involvement in Operation Shining Express, in which helped in a French-led evacuation of 83 US citizens due to Liberian battling Liberian soldiers to oust the President, Charles Taylor.

DOS-522: *Liberia Chronology: June 1, 2003- August 18, 2003.*

- Chronology reported that on June 9, 2003 at least 88 US Citizens were evacuated and Navy SEALs arrived via helicopter to augment US Embassy security. On June 15, the Pentagon announced that USS Kearsage had been directed to join forces of Operation Shining Express for additional evacuees at the request of the US Ambassador.

Additional Documents Relating to Human Rights Abuses

DOS-119: *Issued June 29, 1990; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Liberian Civil War Chronology; Cable # 06421.*

- This cable provides some information about LIMCO/rail operations in its timeline, including the report that LIMCO ore trains have reopened after a brief hiatus. Also, on April 8, 1990, a LIMCO train is ambushed with Financial Times reporter Mark Hubard onboard. He is returned safely.

DOS-243: *Issued January 25, 1995; To: Washington, D.C.; From: Medecins Sans Frontieres, Belgium; Subject: Horror and Slavery in Liberia, Report on Human Rights Violations in Liberia.*

- September 9, 1994 massacre at Bahla Bridge and Kokoya District: Witness testified to a massacre at Bahla Bridge, where General Junior Vaye and bodyguards of the NPFL threw men, women, and babies (about 20) into the river. The witness, along with a group of about 100 others were escaping LPG factions who had roasted a baby and cut and scattered human body parts around the town to frighten their enemies.

DOS-249: *Issued: May 13, 2002; To: All African Diplomatic Posts; From: Washington, DC; Subject: INR Analysis for May 6-12, 2002; Cable # 091190.*

- Five members of the National Human Rights Center of Liberia were arrested and held without charge by Taylor on March 28, 2002. Human rights attorney Tiwan Gongloe (current Solicitor General of Liberia) was arrested on April 24, 2002 and severely beaten while in police custody.

DOS-356: *Issued: May 14, 1990; To: Washington, D.C.; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Situation Report as of 1100 May 14, 1990; Cable # 005015.*

- Situation Report of May 14, 1990 reported that NPFL rebels had attacked and occupied the mining town of Yekepa on May 12, 1990. All ex-pats and Liberian staff members were able to escape.

DOS-377: *Issued July 19, 1990; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: The Next GOL: A Most Insalubrious Outlook; Cable # 07154.*

- Report discussing Taylor as a potential future leader predicts that even with the reports of him having started up LIMCO, he will have substantial financial obstacles as much imports will be required.

DOS-441: *Issued September 5, 1980; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Liberia: Were There Executions; Cable # 07818.*

- A US Embassy official met with Foreign Minister Matthews, Acting Deputy Minister Jarrett, and Assistant Minister for American Affairs Wilson. The official expressed concern over rumored reports of the executions of President Tolbert's son, A.B. Tolbert, former Police Commissioner Varney Dempster, former Minister of National Security Burleigh Holder, and former Deputy Minister of National Defense E. Harding Smythe. The Liberian officials could not confirm if these executions took place.

DOS-594: *Issued June 21, 1993; To: Washington, D.C.; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: NPFL Solely responsible for the May Fassima massacre; Cable # 03116.*

- Text reports statement from a reliable American ex-patriate who described the Fassima massacre. According to this source, NPFL boy soldiers called the Fassima residents out of their houses and began by singling out the youth's teachers who had reprimanded them in school. Soon, the soldiers began killing the residents indiscriminately, with murders reaching at least 100. According to the report, the Fassima massacre illuminated NPFL tactics

by giving youth drugs to coerce them into committing heinous crimes that they cannot comprehend after the drugs have worn off. The report also mentions other massacres occurring in Fendel, Careysburg, Brights Farm and outside Kakata, and Harbel.

AID-4: *Issued September 26, 2003; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: USAID/DCHA/OFDA Dart Abuse Prevention Unit Report, September 22: Operation Closing Time Exact Its Toll; Cable # 001141.*

- This cable reports about the looting by rebels upon learning that the disarmament would occur shortly. "Operation Closing Time" is one mechanism by which rebel leaders maintained control of the soldiers.

Additional Documents Relating to Firestone

DOS-119: *Issued June 29, 1990; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Liberian Civil War Chronology; Cable # 06421.*

- This timeline for the first civil war stated that on June 5, 1990 Firestone fell to rebels and on June 7, 1990 both rebels and AFL forces infiltrated Firestone.

DOS-360: *Issued June 4, 1990; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: Situation Report as of 1800 June 4, 1990; Cable # 005707.*

- Situation report cited a "qualified source" saying that rebels were outside of Firestone and heard fighting on the east bank of the Farmingham River, near eastern perimeter of the plantation in the end of May, 1990. The "qualified observer" also claims that a small rebel force was outside of gate 15 of the Firestone Plantation and that inside the plantation, 25,000-50,000 displaced persons were residing inside Firestone Plantation.

See also documents related to HRA 27, supra page 15, and documents related to HRA 30, supra page 20.

Additional Documents of Interest

DOS-361: *Issued June 5, 1990; To: Washington, DC; From: US Embassy in Monrovia; Subject: LCC Meeting with Doe A "Disaster"; Cable # 113046.*

- Report quotes Archbishop Francis's perspective of "disastrous" meeting with the Liberian Council of Churches (LCC) and Head of State Doe, where the LCC had provided a report to Head of State Doe calling for his resignation. Doe was angry and reportedly refused to resign. Archbishop Francis also reported that Doe provided a wallet he claimed was Elmer Johnson's, saying the AFL had killed him that morning. The common fear was that Doe's refusal to resign showed that he is prepared to do battle with Charles Taylor, and the battle will be bloody.

ANNEX

KEY OF ACRONYMS

AFL	Armed Forces of Liberia.
BRGM	Bureau de recherches géologiques et minérales.
CRC	Central Revolutionary Council.
ECOMOG	Economic Community of West African States' Cease-fire Monitoring Group.
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States.
EMG	Executive Mansion Guard.
FOIA	Freedom of Information Act.
GOL	Government of Liberia.
HRA	Human Rights Atrocity.
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross.
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons.
IGNU	Interim Government of National Unity.
INPFL	Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia.
JPC	Justice and Peace Commission.
LUDF	Liberian United Defense Force.
LPC	Liberia Peace Council.
LURD	Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy.
MJP	Movement for Justice and Peace.
MODEL	Movement for Democracy in Liberia.
MOJA	Movement for Justice in Africa.
MPCI	Ivory Coast Patriotic Movement.
MRM	Movement for the Redemption of Muslims.
NIMCO	Nimba International Mining Company.
NPFL	National Patriotic Front of Liberia.

NPP	National Patriotic Party.
NSA	National Security Administration.
PAL	Progressive Alliance of Liberia.
PRC	People's Redemption Council.
RUF	Revolutionary United Front.
SATU	Special Anti-Terrorist Unit.
SSS	Special Security Services.
ULIMO-J	United Liberation Movement of Liberia, Krahn Branch, led by Roosevelt Johnson.
ULIMO-K	United Liberation Movement of Liberia, Mandingo branch, led by Alhaji G.V. Kromah.
UN	United Nations.
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme.
UPP	United People's Party.

MAP OF LIBERIA

Liberia Counties and Districts



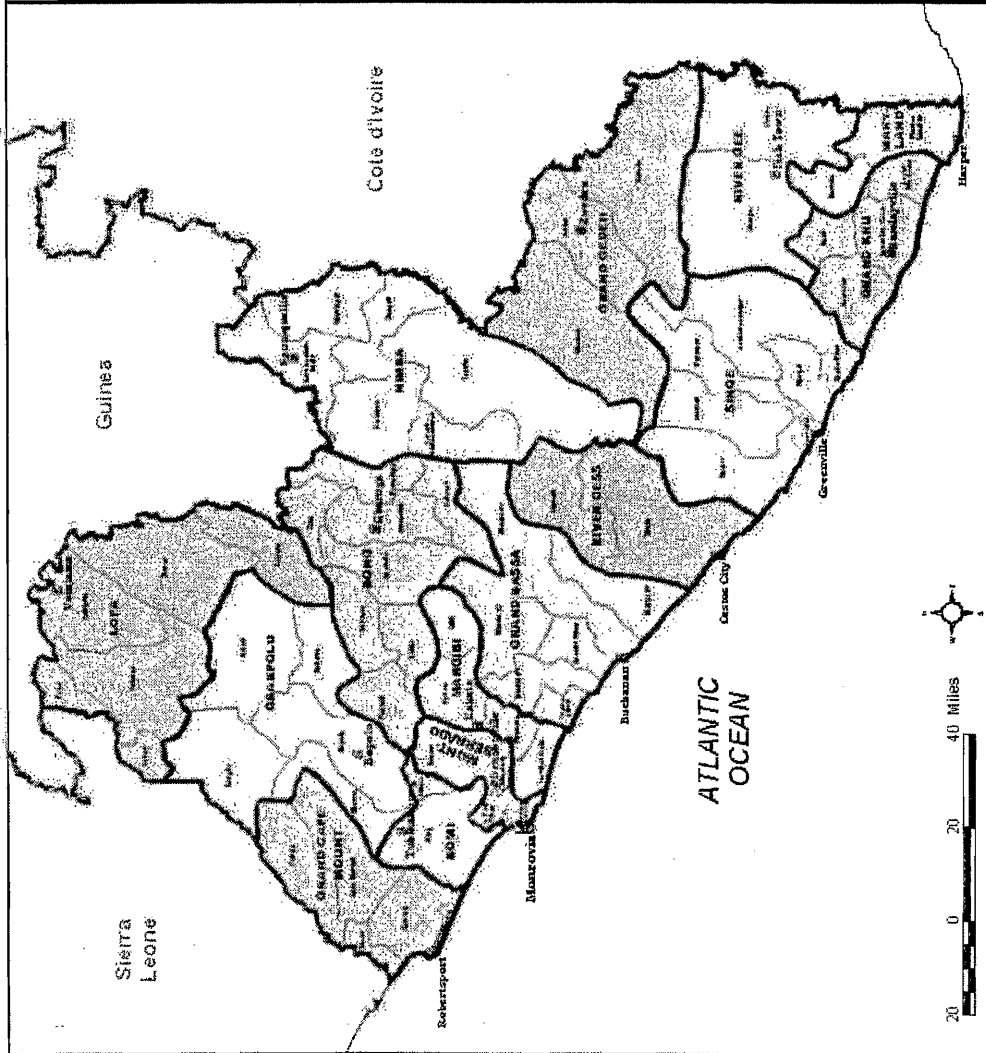
- National Capital
- County Capital
- County boundary
- International boundary
- District
- Ocean

Map catalog code: LIB001
Map production date: 19 March 2004

Boundaries depicted do not represent official endorsement by the Government of Liberia or by the United Nations. Many boundaries were derived from small scaled maps and will be updated as soon as better information is available.



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 Monrovia, Liberia



A CHRONOLOGY OF KEY EVENTS⁶⁰

1822 - Liberia founded as a result of the efforts of the American Colonization Society to settle freed American and Caribbean slaves in West Africa.⁶¹

1847 - Constitution modeled on US is drawn up.

1847 - The colony gains independence and is named the Free and Independent Republic of Liberia.⁶²

1917 - Liberia is pressured by the US to enter World War I on Allied side.⁶³

1926 - Firestone Tire and Rubber Company opens rubber plantation on land granted by government. Rubber production becomes backbone of economy.

1936 - Forced-labor practices abolished.

1943 - William Tubman elected president.

1944 - Liberia enters World War II on the side of the Allies.⁶⁴

1951 May - Women and indigenous property owners vote in the presidential election for the first time.

1958 - Racial discrimination outlawed.

1971 - Tubman dies and is succeeded by William Tolbert Jr.

1974 - Government accepts aid from the Soviet Union for the first time.

1975 - Liberia becomes founding member of ECOWAS.⁶⁵

1978 - Liberia signs trade agreement with the European Economic Community.

1979 - More than forty people are killed in riots following a proposed increase in the price of rice.

⁶⁰ BBC NEWS, *A Chronology of Certain Events. Timeline: Liberia*, Jan. 16, 2008, available at http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/country_profiles/1043567.stm.

⁶¹ Liberia, *supra* note 2.

⁶² *Id.*

⁶³ The Defense Language Institute Foreign Language Center, *Timeline of Liberia: 15th Century- 2006*, July 3, 2008, available at http://fieldsupport.lingnet.org/products/cip/Liberia/liberia_014.html.

⁶⁴ *Id.*

⁶⁵ *Id.*

Years of instability

1980 - Master Sergeant Samuel Doe stages military coup. Tolbert and thirteen of his aides are publicly executed. A People's Redemption Council headed by Doe suspends constitution and assumes full powers.

1984 - Doe's regime allows return of political parties following pressure from the United States and other creditors.

1985 - Doe wins presidential election.

1989 - National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) led by Charles Taylor begins an uprising against the government.

1990 - Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) sends peacekeeping force. Doe is executed by a splinter group of the NPFL.

1991 - ECOWAS and the NPFL agree to disarm and set up an Interim Government of National Unity.

1992 - The NPFL launches an all-out assault on West African peacekeepers in Monrovia, the latter respond by bombing NPFL positions outside the capital and pushing the NPFL back into the countryside.

Tentative ceasefire

1993 - Warring factions devise a plan for a National Transitional Government and a ceasefire, but this fails to materialize and fighting resumes.

1994 - Warring factions agree to a timetable for disarmament and the setting up of a joint Council of State.

1995 - Peace agreement signed.

1996 April - Factional fighting resumes and spreads to Monrovia.

1996 August - West African peacekeepers begin disarmament program, clear land mines and reopen roads, allowing refugees to return.

1997 July - Presidential and legislative elections held. Charles Taylor wins a landslide and his National Patriotic Party wins a majority in the National Assembly. International observers declare the elections free and fair.

Border fighting

1999 January - Ghana and Nigeria accuse Liberia of supporting Revolutionary United Front rebels in Sierra Leone. Britain and the US threaten to suspend aid to Liberia.

1999 April - Rebel forces thought to have come from Guinea attack town of Voinjama. Fighting displaces more than 25,000 people.

1999 September - Guinea accuses Liberian forces of entering its territory and attacking border villages.

2000 September - Liberian forces launch "massive offensive" against rebels in the north. Liberia accuses Guinean troops of shelling border villages.

2001 February - Liberian government says Sierra Leonean rebel leader Sam Bockarie, also known as Mosquito, has left the country.

2001 May - UN Security Council re-imposes arms embargo to punish Taylor for trading weapons for diamonds from rebels in Sierra Leone.

2002 January - More than 50,000 Liberians and Sierra Leonean refugees flee fighting. In February Taylor declares a state of emergency.

Rebel offensives

2003 March - Rebels advance to within 10km of Monrovia.

2003 June - Talks in Ghana aimed at ending rebellion overshadowed by indictment accusing President Taylor of war crimes over his alleged backing of rebels in Sierra Leone.

2003 July - Fighting intensifies; rebels battle for control of Monrovia. Several hundred people are killed. West African regional group ECOWAS agrees to provide peacekeepers.

Taylor in exile

2003 August - Nigerian peacekeepers arrive. Charles Taylor leaves Liberia after handing power to his deputy Moses Blah. US troops arrive. Interim government and rebels sign peace accord in Ghana. Gyude Bryant is chosen to head interim administration.

2003 September-October - US forces pull out. UN launches major peacekeeping mission, deploying thousands of troops.

2004 February - International donors pledge more than US\$500 million in reconstruction aid.

2004 October - Riots in Monrovia leave sixteen people dead; the UN says former combatants were behind the violence.

2005 September - Liberia agrees that the international community should supervise its finances in an effort to counter corruption.

Johnson-Sirleaf elected

2005 23 November - Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf becomes the first woman to be elected as an African head of state. She takes office the following January.

2006 February - Truth and Reconciliation Commission is set up to investigate human rights abuses between 1979 and 2003.

2006 April - Former president Charles Taylor appears before a UN-backed court in Sierra Leone on charges of crimes against humanity. In June the Netherlands-based International Criminal Court agrees to host his trial.

2006 June - UN Security Council eases a ban on weapons sales so Liberia can arm newly trained security forces. An embargo on Liberian timber exports is lifted shortly afterwards.

2006 July - President Johnson-Sirleaf switches on generator-powered street lights in the capital, which has been without electricity for fifteen years.

2007 April - UN Security Council lifts its ban on Liberian diamond exports. The ban was imposed in 2001 to stem the flow of "blood diamonds," which helped to fund the civil war.

2007 June - Start of Charles Taylor's war crimes trial in The Hague, where he stands accused of instigating atrocities in Sierra Leone.

2007 December - UN Security Council extended arms and travel embargoes for another year in response to increased gun violence.

KEY PLAYERS

Samuel Doe: Military head of Liberia from 1980-1990. Doe was a member of the Krahn tri and became a soldier at the age of 18. During Doe's military service, long-standing tensions erupted between indigenous Krahn tribe and Americo-Liberians when he led a coup at the presidential headquarters. In 1985, he was re-elected in elections criticized for being fraudulent. Due to his administration of corruption and brutality, he was assassinated in 1989 by Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) splinter group, the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL).⁶⁶

Sam Dokie: Dokie, from Nimba County, had previously served under Charles Taylor, but came to serve as Interior Minister in the Transitional Government when he denounced Taylor. Dokie, along with his wife and two other family members were gruesomely murdered.⁶⁷

Momo Jibba: High-ranking security officer under Charles Taylor; believed to have ordered the execution of civilians in Lofa County in March 2001.⁶⁸ He may also be linked to the death of Francois Massaquoi.

Elmer Johnson: An American mercenary and a Taylor ally, Johnson was killed by AFL forces in the summer of 1990. His death presented a significant hurdle to Taylor's rise to power.⁶⁹

Prince Yormie Johnson: From Nimba County, Prince Johnson originally partnered with Charles Taylor at the start of the second civil war, later formed the splinter group INPFL, taking with him the core of the experienced NPFL fighters. With the help of ECOMOG, Johnson invaded Monrovia and briefly claimed the presidency after capturing and brutally killing Samuel Doe in 1990. He is now a Senator representing Nimba County.⁷⁰

Roosevelt Johnson: Krahn and leader of the ULIMO-J, a rebel group involved in the second civil war. Following a gun battle with Taylor's men in 1998, he fled the country. Taylor convicted him of treason in absentia.⁷¹

El Haji Kromah: An ethnic Mandingo, Kromah worked in both the Tolbert and Doe administrations. When the second civil war began, Kromah rose to power within United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO), eventually splitting the group into his supporters (ULIMO-K) and those of Roosevelt Johnson (ULIMO-J). During Doe's administration, Kromah was known as the Mandingos' national leader.⁷²

Francois Massaquoi: Minister for Youth and Sports under Taylor and the earlier Interim Government. Taylor's appointment of Massaquoi was seen as a unifying gesture, as they had fought on opposite sides during the civil war; however, many suspect that it was Taylor who ordered Massaquoi's death in 2001.⁷³

⁶⁶ Samuel Kaynon Doe, available at http://encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia_761584057/Doe_Samuel_Kanyon.html.

⁶⁷ Stephen Ellis, *Liberia 1989-1994: A Study of Ethnic and Spiritual Violence*, 94 AFR. AFF. 165, 184 (1995).

⁶⁸ GLOBAL WITNESS, FOR A FEW MORE DOLLARS: HOW AL QAEDA MOVED INTO THE DIAMOND TRADE 55 n.00 (2003), available at <http://www.globalpolicy.org/security/issues/diamond/2003/Liberia-GW.pdf> and <http://www.globalpolicy.org/security/issues/diamond/2003/Liberia2-GW.pdf>.

⁶⁹ STEPHEN ELLIS, THE MASK OF ANARCHY: THE DESTRUCTION OF LIBERIA AND THE RELIGIOUS DIMENSION OF AN AFRICAN CIVIL WAR 70, 80 (1999).

⁷⁰ *Id.* at 12.

⁷¹ *Id.* at 107.

⁷² *Id.* at 170.

⁷³ ELLIS, THE MASK OF ANARCHY, *supra* note 69, at 125

Gabriel Baccus Matthews: The founder of the Progressive Alliance of Liberia. PAL was to be the first serious challenge to the Tolbert regime in 1978. Later he became Foreign Minister of Liberia, both in 1980, while Samuel Doe was in power and then again in 1990 when the Doe administration was overthrown.⁷⁴

Arnold Quainoo: Nigerian Commander of ECOMOG during their presence in the Liberian Civil War.⁷⁵

Thomas Quiwonkpa: A Gio from Nimba County, Quiwonkpa served as commander of the Armed Forces of Liberia, eventually leading them in a doomed coup against Samuel Doe in 1985 after being demoted and forced to flee the country in 1983. He founded the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, paving the way for Charles Taylor.⁷⁶

Ronald Reagan: President of the United States from 1981 to 1989. He lent support to the Doe Administration in Liberia in return for their allegiance during the Cold War.⁷⁷

Amos Sawyer: President of Liberia from 1990 to 1994 as leader of the Interim Government of National Unity. Recognized for his intellect and one of Doe's main opponents, Taylor sought to appoint him as an advisor but he declined. Sawyer supported Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf in her successful bid for the presidency in 2005.⁷⁸

George Schultz: United States Secretary of State during the Reagan Administration. He visited Liberia in January 1987 in what was seen as confirmation of Doe's increasing submission to Western interests.⁷⁹

Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf: Current President of Liberia and the nation's first female head of state. She served as Cabinet Minister in the 1970s under William Tolbert, was arrested during the 1985 coup and exiled to the United States. When Charles Taylor overthrew Samuel Doe, Johnson-Sirleaf returned to campaign for office, running against Taylor. It was not until Taylor relinquished power that Johnson-Sirleaf was able to rise to the top of Liberian politics.⁸⁰

Charles Taylor: Americo-Liberian President of Liberia from 1997 to 2003. Upon the decline of Quiwonkpa, Taylor escaped to the United States, where he was arrested under an extradition treaty with the Liberian government. He managed to escape a high security prison in the United States, eventually making his way back to Liberia. He led the NPFL against Doe during the nation's first civil war, officially winning power when he was victorious in an election in which his main campaign promise was that if elected, he would stop fighting. His administration was marked by rumors of corruption and supporting the vicious rebel forces in Sierra Leone, led by former colleague Foday Sankoh. Upon stepping down as President, Taylor was initially exiled in Nigeria in 2003. He is currently on trial for war crimes at The Hague.⁸¹

Adolphus Tolbert: Son of William Tolbert. Doe had soldiers invade the French Embassy to capture and kill Adolphus Tolbert in 1980. Felix Houphouet-Boigny, former president of Ivory Coast, never forgave Doe, as

⁷⁴ Gabriel Baccus Matthews, available at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gabriel_Baccus_Matthews.

⁷⁵ Chief of Defense Staff (Ghana), available at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chief_of_the_Defence_Staff_%28Ghana%29.

⁷⁶ ELLIS, THE MASK OF ANARCHY, *supra* note 69, 54-60.

⁷⁷ Elun Gabriel, Sputnik Escalates the Cold War: Liberia, available at <http://www.historyandtheheadlines.abc-clio.com/ContentPages/ContentPage.aspx?entryId=1162439¤tSection=1130228&productid=4>.

⁷⁸ ELLIS, THE MASK OF ANARCHY, *supra* note 69, at 169.

⁷⁹ *Id.* at 63.

⁸⁰ Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, President of Liberia, available at http://www.joinafrica.com/africa_of_the_week/ellenjohnsonliberia.htm.

⁸¹ Online NewsHour, Liberia's Uneasy Peace, available at <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/africa/liberia/taylor-bio.html>.

his god-daughter, Desiree Delafosse, was married to Adolphus Tolbert. This gross violation of the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations set off a diplomatic firestorm.⁸²

William Tolbert: Hailing from a prominent Americo-Liberian family, he served as President of Liberia 1971-1980. Tolbert touted a progressive platform but faced opposition from the True Whig Party, the only major political party in Liberia during his administration. Tolbert was eventually assassinated by Samuel Doe, his Master Sergeant, in 1980.⁸³

D.K. Wonseleah: A Quiwonkpa supporter, Wonseleah was responsible for organizing the UPP within Nimba County. He was killed in Yekepa during the failed 1985 coup.⁸⁴

⁸² ELLIS, THE MASK OF ANARCHY, *supra* note 69, at 53-54.

⁸³ US Dep't of State, Background Note: Liberia, *available at* <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/6618.htm>.

⁸⁴ The Analyst Newspaper, Charles Julu Executed Prominent Citizens in Nimba County, *available at* http://www.analystliberia.com/julu_executed_prominent_nimbatians_in_1985_may19_08.html.

ETHNIC GROUPS OF LIBERIA

There are 16 major ethnic groups in the Republic of Liberia, which can be broken down into three major categories: Atlantic, Kru and Mandé.⁸⁵

Within the *Atlantic ethnic group* are the Kissi and Gola, who migrated by way of Sierra Leone. The **Kissi** live in the extreme northwest corner of Liberia in Lofa County or in bordering Sierra Leone, and speak Southern Kissi. The **Gola** speak Gola and reside in northwest Liberia in Grand Cape Mount and Lofa counties. Charles Taylor's mother belonged to the Gola ethnic group.⁸⁶

The *Kru ethnic group*, deriving from the Niger-Congo family, contains the Bassa, Grebo, Kru, Krahn, Belle, Sarpo and Dei. The **Bassa**, comprising 16% of indigenous Liberians,⁸⁷ live in Grand Bassa and River Cess counties. **Grebo**, who speak several dialects of Grebo, live in Sinoe, Grand Gedeh, Grand Kru, and Maryland counties, which are all in the southeastern part of Liberia. Kuwaa speak Kuwaa and live in Lofa county. Liberian government officials have traditionally referred to Kuwaa as **Belle**; however, the term has negative connotations.⁸⁸ **Dei** speak Dewoin and live in Bomi county. **Kru** are mainly found in the interior of Liberia and speak Kru. The **Krahn**, of which Samuel Doe was a member, speak Eastern Krahn and live in Grand Gedeh. Americo-Liberians, while in control of Liberian government have viewed Krahn members as "country"⁸⁹ and as a result, have traditionally excluded Krahns, as well as other indigenous groups, from participation in higher ranks within the government.

The largest ethnic group in Liberia exists within the *Mandé*: the **Kpelle**, representing 20% of the entire population.⁹⁰ Kpellas generally occupy central and western Liberia in Lofa, Bong, Bomi, Margibi, Montserrado, and Grand Bassa counties and speak Liberian Kpelle. A smaller ethnic group within the Mandé family is the **Vai**, which speak Vai and live in Grand Cape Mount. The Mendé, Mano, Gbandi, Dahn, Lorma and Mandingo also compose the Mandé ethnic group. **Mendé** live in Lofa county, bordering Sierra Leone, while the **Mano** and **Lorma** share the northern border with Guinea. The Mano are known for having comprised the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL)⁹¹, along with the Gio. **Gbandi** live mostly in Lofa county and migrated to Liberia with Mendé from Guinea.⁹² **Dahn** reside mainly in the northeastern part of Liberia and speak Mandé. They are known for a war-like reputation.⁹³ Both the Vai and the **Mandingo** are Muslim, which is in contrast with the majority of Liberians who practice either animism or Christianity. Notably, the **Mandingos** are Sunni Muslims who came to Liberia from Sierra Leone in the 17th century. Despite the duration of time the Mandingos have inhabited parts of Liberia, the other ethnic groups have not considered them true Liberians because of a difference in culture (Koranic education, differing familial practices, and traditionally holding a commercial vocation).⁹⁴

In addition to the indigenous Liberians residing in Liberia, **Americo-Liberians**, (descendants of ex-slaves who settled Liberia) make up approximately 2.5% of the population⁹⁵, and **Congo-Liberians**, descendants of

⁸⁵ DEF. LANGUAGE INST. FOREIGN LANGUAGE CTR., LIBERIA IN PERSPECTIVE, AN ORIENTATION GUIDE (2006).

⁸⁶ *Id.*

⁸⁷ *Id.*

⁸⁸ World Directory of Minorities, available at <http://www.minorityrights.org/?lid=5235&tmpl=printpage>.

⁸⁹ Ellis, *Liberia 1989-1994*, *supra* note 67, at 175

⁹⁰ DEF. LANGUAGE INST. FOREIGN LANGUAGE CTR., *supra* note 85.

⁹¹ Rebel group established by Thomas Quiwonkpa in 1985, later led by Charles Taylor.

⁹² World Directory of Minorities, *supra* note 88.

⁹³ Available at <http://www.joshuaproject.net/peopctry.php?rop3=102417&rog3=LI>.

⁹⁴ Ellis, *Liberia 1989-1994*, *supra* note 67, at 179.

⁹⁵ CIA World Factbook: Liberia, available at <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/li.html#People>.

immigrants from the Caribbean who had been slaves, make up another 2.5% of the population⁹⁶. Although Americo-Liberians came to Liberia under the guise of freedom, they excluded indigenous Liberians from education and high ranking positions because the American-Liberian elite viewed themselves as culturally superior.⁹⁷

Ethnic boundaries have been exaggerated by leaders who realized that in order to gain control of the government and therefore have access to the country's resources, they must gain allegiance through the exploitation of ethnicity. Cultivating an ethnic divide was first demonstrated by Samuel Doe⁹⁸, who seized governmental control of the True Whig Party, subsequently establishing a patronage system for fellow Krahn and Mandingos in Nimba county. In addition to favoring his own ethnic group, the Krahn, Doe consciously favored the Mandingo, traditionally seen as outsiders by Liberians due to their different culture⁹⁹, in order to build a rival political constituency in Nimba County. When Charles Taylor replaced Doe through a violent coup, ethnic groups once oppressed by his regime targeted Krahn and Mandingos as they were seen to have been favored by the Doe administration; this instigated the forming of multiple factions along ethnic lines, in order to obtain access to resources and high ranking governmental positions within Liberia.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ *Id.*

⁹⁷ Ellis, *Liberia 1989-1994*, *supra* note 67, at 175.

⁹⁸ *Id.* at 177.

⁹⁹ *Id.* at 179.

¹⁰⁰ The numerous rebel factions within Liberia, based upon ethnic lines, include the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL), Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL), National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), Lofa Defense Force (LDF), Liberian Peace Council (LPC), United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (UNLIMO), and People's Redemption Council (PRC).

